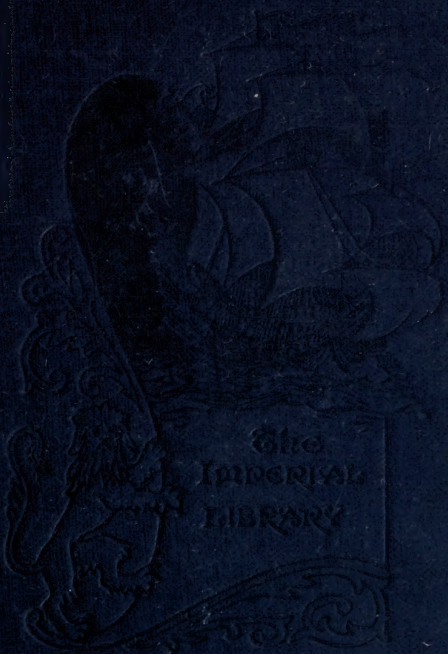


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# OUR NATIONAL CHURCH



# OUR NATIONAL CHURCH

BY

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AND

THE REV. H. J. CLAYTON

SPECIAL LECTURER TO THE CENTRAL CHURCH COMMITTEE



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# OUR NATIONAL CHURCH

## CHAPTER I

### ORIGINS

(EARLIEST DAYS TO A.D. 597)

THE National Church, or, to speak more precisely, that portion of the Universal Church which is called the Church of England, has gradually increased from the time when the seed of Christianity was first sown in the land until it has filled the whole country, spreading its activities into every busy town and remote village, while under its shadows have sprung up the great institutions of which our countrymen are justly proud. When Britain was little more than a theatre for the hostilities of half-savage tribes, the Church was the one influence that made for civilisation, and even for national existence. To her we owe our unity and our liberty, our ruling conceptions of government and progress. Well might Dean Stanley say that the view from the hill of St. Martin's, Canterbury, is one of the most inspiring in the world, for there "Christian learning

and civilisation first struck root in the Anglo-Saxon race," and thence arose "the whole constitution of Church and State in England which now binds together the whole British Empire." Here we see how "a small beginning could lead to a great and lasting good," and realise that the view carries one "vividly back into the past" and "hopefully forward into the future."<sup>1</sup>

Christianity came to this country, as it did to other countries, through the missionary zeal of those who had witnessed the great facts of our religion—the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. As we are told in the Acts of the Apostles, they went everywhere preaching the Word, and wherever they preached they formed a branch of the Universal Church, according to the precept of its Founder. For Christianity was a message to the Jews, indeed, first, but also to the whole world. Starting from Jerusalem and Judæa, the Church was to spread to the uttermost parts of the earth, and to war continually with the powers of darkness.

In no country was Christian teaching more needed than in Britain. But when we seek for answers to, "Who were the first missionaries?" "Whence came they?" "Where did they settle?" no full or satisfactory reply can be given. There are, unfortunately, no authentic records, and legend takes the place of sound historical know-

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 54.

ledge. One fact, however, is certain. The African writer, Tertullian, writing soon after the year 200, tells us that there were in his day parts of Britain which had not become subject to the Romans, but had been conquered for Christ.<sup>1</sup> If taken quite strictly, the words would point to a very wide extension of Christianity by the end of the second century; but probably the words are a rhetorical flourish. However much they may be discounted, they cannot mean less than that Christ was known in Britain by the end of the second century. Beyond this we have nothing more substantial than legend to rely upon. Some have imagined that St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, true to his mission of preaching Christ everywhere, came to "the furthest limits of the west,"<sup>2</sup> but the words probably mean Spain, not Britain. Others have suggested that as Britain was then an outlying portion of the Roman Empire, the gospel of Christ may have been preached here by some Roman soldier, who, converted at Rome, came here for military service. Another picturesque story describes how Joseph of Arimathea, with Mary and Martha and other companions, bringing with them the Holy Cup or Grail out of which Christ and His apostles partook of the first Eucharist, came to the west country, settling at Glastonbury, where they

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Iud.*, c. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.*, i. 5.

built a little church of wattles from the marsh. Others believe, and this seems the most probable theory, that when the Christians at Lyons and Vienne underwent persecution in 177, some of them crossed over from Gaul to Britain, carrying their faith with them. All guessing, however, is useless. The one solid fact is that before the end of the second century the Church had been founded in this country.

A whole century has to pass before the next historical mention of the British Church. The fourth century opens with the last of the great Roman persecutions of Christianity. It was during this persecution that the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulam (now St. Albans) took place about the year 304. He is the first known martyr of the British Church, a member of the British race, and at the same time a Roman soldier. He was converted by a British priest who was fleeing from his persecutors, and came to the soldier, Alban, for shelter, who protected the priest, and changed clothes with him. Alban was arrested, and, on his refusal to abjure Christianity, was killed. It was on the spot where he died for his religion that, in later days, there arose the great abbey church of St. Albans.

Nor was the British Church in a backwater cut off from the main stream of the life of Christianity. On the contrary, it was recognised as a real and living part of the Church Universal,

for three of its bishops were present at the Council held in 314 at Arles. This is a fact of primary importance, showing us that the Church was episcopal, with sees at London, York, and Lincoln (possibly Caerleon-on-Usk), and that its representatives were as much entitled to be present, speak, and vote at Church Councils as any of the bishops who attended from the Churches of Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Africa. Poor it certainly was, for when its bishops attended the Council of Rimini in 359, they were compelled, on account of their poverty, to accept from the Roman Emperor the payment of their necessary expenses, so as not to be a burden to their people at home. It is satisfactory to know, on the authority of that intrepid champion of the true faith, St. Athanasius, that in the vital controversy with the Arians, involving, as is now admitted, the very existence of Christianity, the British Church steadfastly repudiated all insidious attacks on the Deity of Christ.

In the fifth century there is further evidence, though of a deplorable character, that the British Church was in vigorous life. Pelagius, who appears to have been a Briton from Wales, began to teach new and strange opinions at Rome, denying the doctrine of original sin, or sinfulness, teaching that men are able, by their own unaided efforts, to attain to holiness of life. Such views were introduced into Britain, and obtained considerable vogue, so that the Church was compelled



to look across the Channel for help. The Church in Gaul came to the rescue, and in 429 St. Germanus, the Bishop of Auxerre (whose name is preserved in Church dedications in Cornwall and the Isle of Man) and St. Lupus, the Bishop of Troyes, came over on a mission of help, in order that they might confirm the British Church in the faith. They preached in the churches, the streets, the fields, and the open country, meeting with much success, and winning back many who had adopted the views of Pelagius, and when, at length, a formal debate took place at Verulam between the missionaries and the Pelagians, the heretics were reduced to silence. Some have traced in our alleged national self-complacency evidence that we are still susceptible to this heresy; and it is curious that the Reformers thought it worth while specifically to condemn it in the ninth Article of Religion.

It is impossible for us to discover the extent to which the British Church spread through the land, or what amount of hold it obtained among the people, for the remains of it which have come down to us are few in number. At this period, at any rate, it was a missionary Church, prepared to carry to others that which it had obtained for itself. If the words of Tertullian, already quoted, are an exaggeration as regards the year 200, they became true early in the fifth century, as may be seen from the work of St.



Ninian, who died about the year 432. He was a northerner, a native of the Lake district, who studied at Rome, and was there raised to the episcopate by Pope Siricius. On his way home he stayed for some time in Gaul, coming under the influence of St. Martin of Tours, the great missionary bishop of the time. Returning to Britain, he settled on a promontory in Wigtonshire, and there built a church, not of wood, in the British fashion, but of stone, in the Roman manner (on account of which the place was known as Candida Casa, Whithern, the White House), dedicating it to the memory of his friend and teacher, St. Martin. This place became a centre of light to all who lived round the Solway Firth, and to those settled between the two Roman walls, and even to the southern Picts, so that the collect formerly used on his festival speaks of him as the instrument by which the "Picts and Britons" were "converted to the knowledge of the Faith."

A far greater missionary achievement was that of St. Patrick. He was born about the year 389, perhaps on the Clyde, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and was brought up as a Christian, his father being a deacon in the Church. When sixteen years of age he was seized by pirates and carried away as a slave to Ireland, where he worked for some years as a swineherd. He succeeded in making his escape, but the vocation

to be a missionary to the Irish was upon him, so that after a sojourn in Gaul he was consecrated bishop and settled in Ireland. This is not the place to tell the story of his life and work in that island. It is enough to say that he laboured there for some twenty-nine years, working in every part of the country, and laying the foundations of the Irish Church with such devotion and success as to earn the title by which he is known—"The Apostle of Ireland." Moreover, the conversion of Ireland is vitally connected with the history of the English Church, for from the Irish Church went St. Columba to found the monastery of Iona, and thence came in the seventh century a stream of Celtic missionaries, led by St. Aidan, who, as will be seen, converted the northern parts of England.

It has already appeared from the story of St. Alban that the British Church underwent persecution in the early part of the fourth century, but in the sixth century the storm was to beat upon it in all its fury. The Romans had abandoned the country, and the Angles and Saxons commenced their invasions, coming not merely to plunder, but to settle. Gradually the country was divided up into the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy, Kent, Sussex, Wessex, East Saxons, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, while the Britons and their Church were driven into the west, especially into Cornwall and Wales. The

rest of the land now received its new name of England, Engleland, the land of the Angles, and lapsed into heathenism, for its conquerors were still pagans, worshipping Woden and Thor and all the other northern gods. Perhaps some few Britons remained and were faithful to their religion, but to all intents and purposes darkness once again settled over the land. Yet the light was not wholly extinguished, for the British Church, when driven westward, remained steadfast. It made no attempt, it is true, to convert the heathen Angles and Saxons, but it formed its monasteries for study, work, and devotion, and was organised in the four dioceses of St. Davids, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor, which thus possess a greater antiquity than the dioceses in England. Rightly did Archbishop Benson speak of the Church in Wales as "our oldest selves, fountains of our episcopacy, the very designers of our sanctuaries, the primeval British dioceses, from whom our realm derives its only title to be known by its proud name of Great Britain."<sup>1</sup> Yet such is the irony of events, that one of the commonest taunts hurled against this, the oldest part of our Church, is the accusation of being "an alien Church." Rather can it boast of an antiquity and a continuity which are even more impressive than our own, for (as Mr. Bryce has put it) "the

<sup>1</sup> Speech at the Rhyl Church Congress, 1891.

Church in Wales is the legitimate historical succession to the Church of St. David.”<sup>1</sup>

So the work of evangelisation required to be done over again. Who should bring the gospel to the heathen Angles and Saxons? It was not to be the British Church, for reasons which will become evident presently, but the Church of Rome and the Celtic Church of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Speech in the House of Commons, 23rd February 1892.

## CHAPTER II

### ESTABLISHMENT

(A.D. 597 TO A.D. 680)

THE Church of England possesses the peculiar character of being a Church of mixed origin. Just as the British race is sprung from Celt, Saxon, and Norman, so the Anglican Church may almost be said to owe its existence to the labours of three men—Augustine the Roman, Aidan the Celt, and Theodore the Greek. Of these men the work of Augustine was the earliest in point of time.

The story is well known how Gregory, afterwards Pope, saw the fair-haired Angle slave boys from Yorkshire exposed for sale in the market place of Rome, how he was touched with compassion at their hard fate, and how he said that they were angels rather than Angles, that they who came from Deira, as the northern part of England was then called, should be delivered from the wrath of God (*de ira Dei*), and that Alleluia should be sung in the land of their king, Ella. Playful though the words were, they expressed a serious purpose; and though he was prevented from

himself becoming the Apostle of the English, he was able, in a few years' time, when he became Pope, to carry out his intentions, and to send out Augustine and his companions to the work of converting the English race. The missionaries arrived early in 597, after a halt and a turn back on the way, caused through reports of the fierceness of the English, and landed on the coast of Kent. Since the slave boys seen by Gregory had come from the province of Deira in the north, it might have seemed more natural for the mission to push on northward. But in Kent a door was already open; for though Ethelbert, its king, was a heathen, his wife, Bertha, the daughter of Charibert of Paris, was a Christian, with a Frankish bishop, Luidhart by name, at her side as chaplain.

An open-air interview between Augustine and the king was arranged and held in Thanet, the missionaries coming to it with their silver cross before them, and a board on which was painted the story of the Passion. The result of the interview was a grant of toleration: "We will not molest you," said the king, "but give you favourable entertainment, and take care to supply you with your necessary sustenance, nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion."<sup>1</sup> The missionaries entered the city of Canterbury singing a Litany, in which they prayed: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy

<sup>1</sup> Bede, i. 25.



mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house, because we have sinned. Hallelujah.”<sup>1</sup> The little church of St. Martin, where Bertha worshipped, was granted them, and soon Ethelbert, the king, with many of his subjects, received the sacrament of Baptism. What had happened on the large field of the Roman Empire now happened on a smaller scale in England. First the Church was tolerated, as it had been in the Roman Empire by the Edict of Milan in 313, and then it was accepted or established as the religion of the kingdom of Kent. There was obviously no question of its being created by the State. It came with its good news and was accepted, and, being accepted, was recognised by the king and his advisers as the religion which should guide and sanctify, not only the individuals who professed it, but also the kingdom as a whole.

It may, however, be felt by some that it is inaccurate to speak of Gregory founding the *English* Church. Surely, they say, it was the Roman Catholic Church, for was not Gregory the Pope of Rome, and were not Augustine and his companions officials of that Church? Such an objection is based on an anachronism. At the period with which we are dealing there was no Roman Catholic or Protestant, or even Eastern, Church. Christendom was undivided. The See of Rome

<sup>1</sup> Bede, i. 25.



was indeed a very important centre of Christianity, but it had not, nor did it then claim, supremacy or lordship over the whole Church. Augustine came from Rome, sent by its bishop, just as other missionaries went from other countries—as Aidan, for instance, came from the Irish Church in Iona, not to bring England into spiritual subjection to Rome, but to convert the Angles and the Saxons to Christianity. Gregory himself repudiated the title of “universal bishop,” saying that any man who so called himself was, in his pride, a forerunner of Antichrist. In writing to Augustine he makes the position quite plain. When Augustine inquires: “Whereas the Faith is one and the same, why are there different customs in different churches, and why is one custom of masses observed in the holy Roman Church, and another in the Church of Gaul?” Gregory makes his wise reply: “You know, my brother, the custom of the Church of Rome, in which you remember your rearing. But it pleases me that if you have found anything, either in the Church of Rome, or in the Church of Gaul, or in any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new to the Faith, whatsoever you have been able to gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of

good things. Choose, therefore, from every Church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when you have, as it were, made them up into a bundle, instil them into the minds of the English.”<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be clearer. The newly-founded Church, already called “the Church of the English,” was to have its own customs and ceremonial. To Rome it might look for advice and assistance, but its spiritual independence was to be preserved. In short, it was a national and autonomous Church that now came into existence.

So far Augustine was in priest’s orders only, and accordingly he went back to Gaul, not Rome, where he was consecrated as a bishop by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles. Then he returned to Kent, and before long his work spread beyond the city of Canterbury. We read how, on one occasion, no less than 10,000 people were baptized in the Swale; and in 604 he was able to create two new dioceses, sending Mellitus to be bishop at London, and Justus to Rochester.

Reinforcements had been sent from Rome, but even with their aid it was impossible for Augustine and his companions to carry out by themselves the conversion of the whole of England. He turned, therefore, to that British Church with which we were concerned in the previous chapter, and sought its aid. A meeting took place somewhere near Cricklade (in Wiltshire), but came to

<sup>1</sup> Bede, i. 27.

nothing. The Britons were asked to do three things—to accept the Roman rule regarding the date on which the Easter festival should be held, to agree to administer the sacrament of Baptism in the Roman manner, and to join him in preaching to the pagan Angles and Saxons. Each request was refused. The refusal to return good for evil by acting as missionaries to the people who had persecuted and dispossessed them is regrettable. Possibly the Britons thought that the conquerors would hardly be likely to accept the religion of those whom they had conquered. It has been remarked that “we might as well expect the down-trodden Armenians to preach to their oppressors the Turks, or hope that negro ministers would succeed among godless American colonists. No missionaries coming from so despised and detested a source as the Britons would have obtained a hearing among the victorious invaders.”<sup>1</sup> Be this as it may, they rejected the offers made them, and so Augustine was compelled to continue his work without any outside assistance, with the result that when he died in 604 or 605, the Church had been planted in Kent and in London, but little, if anything, had been done elsewhere.

In a few years, however, the Church was to be carried to that very north of England whence the slave boys seen by Gregory at Rome had come. In 625, Edwin, the King of Northumbria, desired

<sup>1</sup> Plummer, *The Churches in Britain before A.D. 1000*, i. p. 52.

to marry Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha of Kent. The story of the mother was repeated in the case of the daughter, for the marriage was allowed only on condition that the princess was allowed to retain her religion and have a bishop by her side as chaplain, Paulinus being consecrated and sent to York to fill this post. Two years later, Edwin, after being saved by a faithful theyn from assassination, held a conference with his wise men, and, as a result, received baptism at York. In 633, however, Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, swept over the north, defeating and slaying Edwin. The bishop escaped to Lyminge in Kent with the widowed queen and the infant princess Eanfled, and the kingdom generally seems to have relapsed into paganism; but not altogether, for one, at least, of the companions of Paulinus, the deacon James (whose name survives at Akeburgh or Jacob-burgh, in Yorkshire) stayed at his post and did what he could.

The lapse to paganism was fortunately short, for in 634 Oswald was able to defeat Penda and gain the throne. He was a Christian already, having received his education in the island of Iona. To that island, not to Canterbury, he turned for missionaries, Aidan, the Apostle of the North, being consecrated and sent to him in the following year. In 563, as we have already seen, Columba and his companions had

sailed from Ireland and settled at Iona. Here he had founded his monastery, which became the great centre from which Christianity was carried to almost every part of Scotland. He died in 597, the very year in which Augustine landed in Kent. From Iona, then, came forth Aidan and his companions in 635. He placed his "bishop's stool" or see, not at York, which Paulinus had made the centre of his work, but at Lindisfarne, on Holy Island, not far from the rock fortress of Bamborough in Northumberland, where his friend Oswald lived. Aidan's character was one of deep spirituality, of wonderful simplicity, and of beautiful humility. He was at one and the same time missionary, bishop, and saint. Until his death in 651 he never ceased his great work, journeying everywhere on foot, drawing large crowds to listen to him, but always converting men as much by his own lovable life as by his words. There are few more touching stories in history than that of the friendship between Oswald the king and Aidan the bishop, the former interpreting while the latter preached to the people the religion in which they both devotedly believed.

It is now necessary to turn to the remaining kingdoms of the Heptarchy. In the evangelisation of East Anglia the two prominent names are those of Felix and Fursey. The former was a missionary from Burgundy, and it is possible that he may have had some connection with the settle-



ment which had been made there by the Irishman Columbanus. When he began to work in the eastern part of England he fixed his see at Dunwich in Suffolk, now overwhelmed by the sea, and was assisted in his work by an Irishman, Fursey by name, who settled at the Roman Camp of Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth. Here the two missionaries came, apparently, one from Burgundy and the other from the Irish Church; neither from Rome. The large kingdom of Wessex began to be converted in 634 through the agency of Birinus, who was consecrated at Genoa by the Archbishop of Milan. His nationality is unknown, and it is just possible that he, too, was a Celt, though more probable that he was an Italian. His mission appears to have been an independent one sent out by the Church in North Italy. Cynegils, the king, was converted and baptized, Oswald, from Northumbria, acting as his sponsor (another illustration of the work of the Celtic Church), and Dorchester-on-Thames became the centre of the mission. When Birinus died, the bishopric passed into the hands of Agilbert. The method of his appointment is noteworthy. The historian Bede tells us: "The king, observing his erudition and industry, desired him to accept an episcopal see, and stay there as his bishop. Agilbert complied with the prince's request and presided over those people many years."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, iii. 7.

Here we see, as we have noticed in Kent, the Church coming into a kingdom, first being tolerated and then established as the religion of that kingdom, the appointment of the bishop being in the hands of the king.

We have already seen how Augustine placed Mellitus as Bishop of the East Saxons in London in 604. This mission, however, did not last long, for in 616 the bishop was driven out by the king, and the people lapsed into paganism until 653. In that year the new King of the East Saxons, Sigebert, was converted by Oswy, the successor of Oswald. He was baptized by Finan, who had succeeded Aidan, and Cedd was consecrated and sent as bishop. The central land of Mercia was stubborn to a degree. Its king, Penda, whom we have seen overthrowing Edwin and the Northumbrian Church, was to the end an unrelenting foe of the new religion. But at length the Church was allowed to enter the central lands of England through the conversion of Penda's son, Peada, who was married to the daughter of Oswy. Diurna was consecrated as the first bishop, and settled at Repton. But the most famous among the early Mercian bishops is the gentle Ceada, or Chad, the brother of Cedd, who founded the bishopric of Lichfield. Finally, with the defeat and death of Penda at the battle of Winwæd in 655, Mercian paganism disappeared.

The last part of the Heptarchy to receive the



*Table to Illustrate the Conversion of the Heptarchy*

Name.	Date.	Nationality.	Base of Operation.	Work Done.
Augustine and his companions.	597	Roman.	Sent by Pope Gregory the Great.	Conversion of Kent. Foundation of the sees of Canterbury, London, and Rochester.
Paulinus.	625	Roman.	Canterbury.	Conversion of Northumbria begun, and see of York founded.
Felix.	630	Burgundian.	The Church of Gaul (or the Irish mission of Columbanus in Burgundy).	Conversion of East Anglia.
Furse.	c. 630	Irish.	Ireland.	Mission work in East Anglia.
Birinus.	634	Unknown.	Probably the Church of Milan, by the archbishop of which city he was consecrated.	Conversion of the West Saxons, foundation of the see of Dorchester-on-Thames.
Aidan and his companions.	635	Irish.	Iona.	Conversion of Northumbria; see of Lindisfarne founded.
Cedd.	653	Saxon.	Lindisfarne.	Mission work among the East Saxons.
Diuma.	656	Saxon.	Lindisfarne.	Mission work in Mercia.
Wilfrid.	681	Saxon.	Lindisfarne (but leader of the Romanising party).	Conversion of the South Saxons begun.

Church was the kingdom of the South Saxons, and it was not till 681 that Wilfrid, the great Northumbrian churchman, began mission work there. He settled for a time at Selsey after being driven out of Northumbria, as we shall hear later, and there laid the foundations of permanent work. It is, however, to be observed that there was already a little Scotie monastery at Bosham in Sussex, ruled by an Irishman named Dicul, though no missionary work appears to have been carried out from that centre.

## CHAPTER III

### ORGANISATION

(A.D. 664 TO A.D. 735)

THE Church had now been introduced into each of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, but so far it would be more accurate to speak of several churches of the English, rather than of one Church of England. There was a separate mission in each part of the country, and the piece of work which was most of all required was the welding together of these separate missions into one united Saxon Church. As we have seen, parts of the country had been evangelised from Rome and other parts by the Celtic Church, and though there was entire agreement regarding the Faith, there were certain differences between the Romans and the Celts regarding matters of ceremonial and practice, chief among these points of difference being the question concerning the date on which the annual Easter Festival should be observed.

The year 664 was a critical one. The King of Northumbria was Oswy, trained by and adhering to the customs of the Celts. His queen was Eanfled, who, it may be remembered, was as an infant

carried to Kent by Bishop Paulinus after the death of her father Edwin in 633. Having been brought up in Kent, in the midst of the Roman circle, she naturally kept Easter according to the Roman computation; with the result that in 664, while the king was rejoicing at Easter, the queen was observing Palm Sunday with the fast of Holy Week still before her.

In order that some agreement might be reached a conference was held at Whitby, to decide whether the Northumbrian Church should for the future observe the Roman or the Celtic customs. On the Celtic side were Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, with the Abbess Hilda, and Cedd, the Bishop of the East Saxons; on the Roman side Agilbert, the Bishop of the West Saxons, James the deacon, Romanus, the chaplain to the queen, and, above all, Wilfrid. Wilfrid's attitude requires a little explanation. He was a Saxon, and had been brought up at Lindisfarne amidst Celtic influence, but had journeyed to Rome, and became so strongly fascinated by all that he had seen there that, for the future, Roman customs and practice were his ideal. Both sides claimed Apostolic authority for their customs, the Celts arguing that their methods were derived from St. John, the Romans maintaining that theirs were a following of St. Peter. Oswy seized upon this point, asking Colman if it were true that St. Peter kept the keys, and when the bishop agreed, made his

decision: "I will not contradict him, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom he should refuse to open." The decision of the king was, from every point of view, a wise one. The merits of the controversy were of no great importance intrinsically. But it was very desirable to have uniformity throughout the whole country on this point, and it was better to accept, in such a matter, the view held by what was then the rising and progressive Church of Rome rather than to adhere to the practice of the Celtic Church, which was to show in the future a fatal lack of the spirit of order and good government. Such was the first step taken towards the goal of an united Anglo-Saxon Church.

The real attainment of unity was the result of the work of our third great founder and consolidator, Archbishop Theodore. Deusdedit, the first Englishman to become Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 664, just after the Conference at Whitby, at which, however, he had not been present. On the same day the King of Kent died. Who was to be responsible for the appointment of the new Archbishop? Already it was becoming clear that the Archbishop of Canterbury was not merely the bishop of the kingdom of Kent, but the primate of the Church throughout the whole Heptarchy, and accordingly we find the new Kentish king, Egbert, consulting with the King of Northumbria as to what was best for the Church. In conse-

quence, Wighard was chosen "with the consent of the holy Church of the English nation,"<sup>1</sup> and sent to Rome for consecration. On his arrival at Rome Wighard unfortunately died of the plague, and the Pope, Vitalian, made his own selection for the post, his choice falling upon Theodore, a Greek from Tarsus, the city of St. Paul. Theodore arrived in England in 668, and at once proceeded to organise and consolidate the Church. Four chief points stand out in this work:—

(1) In 669 he commenced a visitation of the whole country to make it plain that he was not merely the bishop of the Kentish people, but the primate of the English Church throughout the whole land. "He was," says Bede, "the first Archbishop whom the whole English Church consented to obey."<sup>2</sup> It deserves to be most carefully noticed that this unity of the Church was attained a century and a half before the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were welded together into an united Anglo-Saxon nation. Green, in his *History of the English People*, rightly points out that in his work of organisation "Theodore was unconsciously doing a political work. . . . The single throne of the one primate at Canterbury accustomed men's minds to the thought of a single throne for their one temporal overlord. . . . The regular subordination of priest to bishop, of bishop to primate, in the administration of the Church,

<sup>1</sup> Bede, iii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 2.



supplied a mould on which the civil organisation of the state quietly shaped itself. Above all, the councils gathered by Theodore were the first of all national gatherings for general legislation.”<sup>1</sup>

(2) In the second place he aimed at unity of action, which was to be effected by the regular meeting together of the bishops in council. Such a Council was held in 673 at Hertford, another meeting in 680 at Hatfield.

(3) His third work was that of education, in which he was greatly assisted by the African, Hadrian, who had accompanied him from Italy. Bede tells us that from the school which he founded at Canterbury “rivers of knowledge flowed to water the hearts of their hearers.”<sup>2</sup> This may be regarded as the beginning of the work of national education, which the Church continued almost unaided for the next twelve centuries and more.

(4) His fourth piece of work was much more difficult, and brought him into serious conflict with Wilfrid. In the first place, he set himself to fill up the vacant bishoprics, a much-needed reform; for when he arrived in England, Rochester was vacant, and so were the bishoprics for Wessex and Mercia. In East Anglia the bishop was lying on his deathbed; Sussex was still pagan; and London was held by the simoniacal Wini, who had purchased the bishopric. In

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 58-59.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, iv. 2.



Northumbria matters were extremely complicated. After the Conference of Whitby, Colman had withdrawn to Iona from the bishopric of Lindisfarne, finding himself unable to accept the decision reached at that meeting, and Wilfrid had been elected in his place. Owing perhaps to his Roman leanings he had refused to accept consecration in England, and had journeyed accordingly to Gaul for that purpose. He stayed abroad so long that Chad was made Bishop of Northumbria instead, receiving episcopal orders at the hands of Wini and two British bishops. A mistake had been made, for Wilfrid was undoubtedly the canonical bishop for the north, and Theodore rightly restored him to his see, making use of Chad for Mercia, which was then vacant. But Theodore's next step occasioned much more difficulty. The huge diocese of Northumbria was quite unwieldy, and the Archbishop very properly determined to subdivide it into bishoprics of a more manageable size. Wilfrid strongly objected, but in spite of his opposition Theodore persisted; and though Wilfrid appealed to Rome (it is the first of such appeals in our history), and brought back a verdict in his favour, the Pope's decision was disregarded, Wilfrid was imprisoned and then banished, and the see was split up into the four dioceses of York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Ripon, Abercorn being added a little later on.

The permanence of Theodore's work for the English Church can be seen by a comparison of the English dioceses in 700 and at the eve of the Reformation, bearing in mind that (as we shall see) one of the results of the Norman Conquest was the removal of the bishops' sees from small villages to more important centres. The diocese remained the same, but its name was changed.

700 A.D.				1500 A.D.			
1.	Canterbury	.	.	1.	Canterbury		
	London	.	.		London		
	Rochester	.	.		Rochester		
	Wessex	.	.		Winchester		
5.	Sherborne	.	.	5.	Salisbury	}	
					Bath and Wells		
					Exeter		
					Lichfield		
	Lichfield	.	.		Lincoln		
	Lindsey	.	.				
	Leicester	.	.				
	Hereford	.	.	10.	Hereford		
10.	Worcester	.	.		Worcester		
	Dunwich	.	.		Norwich		
	Elmham	.	.		Ely		
	Selsey (709 A.D.)	.	.		Chichester		
	York	.	.	15.	York		
15.	Lindisfarne	.	.		Durham		
	Hexham	.	.	17.	Carlisle		
	Ripon	.	.				
18.	Abercorn	.	.				

Good work continued to be done after the death of Theodore in 690. The Church had now become firmly rooted in each of the seven kingdoms, and welded together into an united Anglo-Saxon

Church under its primate at Canterbury. But it must not be imagined that it had obtained a firm hold on the life and conduct of every person in each kingdom. Home mission work was still necessary. For instance, in Wessex, Aldhelm, who in 709 was Bishop of Sherborne, when he found the people unwilling to stay in church for the sermon, disguised himself as a minstrel, and waylaying them as they crossed the bridge, sung to them. Gradually he introduced sacred subjects into his songs, and thus gained a hearing for the Gospel message.

Nor did the Church at this period neglect foreign missions. The way was led by Wilfrid of Northumbria, who not only did valuable work in converting the pagan South Saxons, but preached also in Frisia (Holland), where he was shipwrecked on one of his many journeys to Rome. Following him was another Northumbrian, Willibrod of Ripon, who in 738 became the Archbishop of the Frisians, with his see at Utrecht, and also laboured among the Norsemen and in the island of Heligoland. But the most famous of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries was the west-countryman, Winfrid or Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, commemorated still by the English Church on June 5th, who, after starting work and gaining experience as a companion and helper of Willibrod, moved into Germany. In due time he became Archbishop of Mainz, and was finally

martyred in Frisia in 755. Organised "missions of help," as we should now call them, were sent out from England to Germany; and women, as well as men, took their share in the task of converting that country. Chief among them was Lioba (the Beloved), who, from being the prioress of Wimborne, accepted the invitation of her kinsman Boniface, and at her monastery at Bischofsheim, on the Tauber, earned the respect of Charles the Great and his queen as a wise and gentle ruler and a careful teacher of the Bible and the Fathers.

At home the work of education was pushed forward. The school founded at Canterbury by Theodore and Hadrian, of which mention has been made, was imitated at York by Egbert, the bishop of that city. Albert became its first master, and its most famous scholar was Alcuin. Later on he succeeded Albert as its master, only resigning his post when he left England to be the chosen adviser of Charles the Great. Good work of various kinds was also being done in the monasteries. Augustine and his companions from Rome, Aidan and his successors at Lindisfarne, were all living under the monastic rule. New monasteries arose on every side as the work of evangelisation went on, and in them the life was by no means selfish, but, on the contrary, full of altruistic activities. Benedict Biscop, a friend of Wilfrid, founded monasteries at Jarrow and

Wearmouth, where the Benedictine rule was first introduced into England. Men like John of Beverley and Cuthbert were both ascetic monks and active missionary workers. The life of the monk is summed up in the words of the Venerable Bede (673 to 735), to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of early English Church history, who says of himself that "being born in the territory of that same monastery (Monkwearmouth) was given, at seven years of age, to be educated by the most reverend abbot Benedict, and afterwards by Ceolfrid; and spending all the remaining time of my life in that monastery, I wholly applied myself to the study of Scripture, and amidst the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church, I always took delight in learning, teaching, and writing."<sup>1</sup>

Nor must the work of women, especially of royal women, be passed over in silence. If kings were the nursing fathers of the Church in England, their queens were certainly its nursing mothers. Such were Etheldreda, the foundress of the monastery at Ely, Eanswith of Folkestone, Sexburga of Sheppey, and many others, who helped forward the conversion of England and the settlement of the Church. Greatest of all was Hilda, the foundress of Whitby Abbey, where Caedmon, the great Saxon poet, wrote of the Creation and

<sup>1</sup> Bede, v. 24.

the Christian Faith, and where the work of education was so excellently carried out that no fewer than five of her pupils attained in time to the position of bishops in various parts of England.



## CHAPTER IV

### UNSETTLEMENT

(A.D. 735 TO A.D. 1066)

WITH the death of the Venerable Bede in 735 we come to the end of what has been termed "the heroic period" of our early Church history. The Church began to lose its first inspiration, and until Alfred came to the throne in 871 there was a time of great deterioration, many living "an unintellectual, unrefined, coarse life." This appears only too clearly from a letter which Bede wrote in the year before his death to Egbert of York. He is compelled to comment severely on the avarice of the bishops and their neglect of visitation, and the want of instruction among the laity. More parochial clergy were badly needed, while the Holy Communion was rarely received, and many of the monasteries were religious houses in name only, having become the abode of young nobles who were living idle and, in some cases, even evil lives. An even clearer view of the condition of affairs can be gained by turning to the canons passed at the Council of Cloveshoo in 747. Bishops were ordered to visit the whole of



their dioceses every year, calling the people together at convenient centres; they were forbidden to ordain anyone without holding a previous examination as to character, ability, and doctrine; priests were to be diligent in preaching and in baptizing their people, learning how to explain the Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c., in English; schools were to be provided at the various monasteries; monks and nuns were to wear their proper dress; monasteries were to be places of reading and psalm singing, not of gossip, feasting and drinking, or of wearing and sewing fine clothes; while all ecclesiastical persons were to abstain from excessive drinking, and not to drink at all before the third hour of the day, except in case of illness—evidence of the prevalence of what was even then the besetting sin of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The question of appeals also came up at this Council, and the decision thereon is of great importance in connection with later controversies. It was laid down that "if there are difficult things, too difficult for the bishop in his diocese, let him bring them to the Archbishop in the Provincial Synod, and let the Archbishop settle them." The significance of the Canon is in its silence regarding further appeals. Not one word is said concerning the necessity of sending difficult matters for solution by Rome as a court of final appeal. Here, surely, is a clear illustration of the position of the Anglo-Saxon Church as a national and autono-

mous body, capable of settling even the most complicated matters without any outside interference.

At this time, too, there was internal division in the Church, so that the unity attained under Theodore was, for a time, overthrown. Political unity had not yet been reached. The Heptarchy still existed, and Mercia had now become the chief of the seven kingdoms. The question therefore arose, why should the bishop in Mercia be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, while the King of Kent was subject to the King of Mercia? So in 786 two Papal legates appeared in England (it is the first of such visits in our history, and the only one until the reign of the Confessor), and in the following year summoned the Council of Chelsea, where the see of Lichfield, which was in Mercia, was made into an archbishopric, Canterbury being left with but four dioceses (London, Winchester, Rochester, and Selsey) subject to it. In every way this was a retrograde and unfortunate step. If the primacy of the Church was always to follow the leadership in the State, then another removal would before long have become necessary as Mercia declined and Wessex became the predominant partner. Fortunately the mistake was discovered and soon rectified, the action of the Council of Chelsea in 787 being reversed at the Council of Cloveshoo in 803.

The real recovery of the Church was to come

in quite another manner. Invasion and persecution by heathen enemies were again to show the English that their national life was bound up with the strength and purity of the Church. This time it was the Danes who overran the country, as the Angles and Saxons had done some four centuries earlier. They were still heathens, and convinced heathens, regarding the Angles and Saxons as renegades from the faith of their northern forefathers. They warred as much with the Church as with the nation. Everywhere monasteries and churches were sacked and burned, the clergy, monks, and nuns being put to the sword. Edmund, the King of the East Saxons, was martyred, shot through with arrows while tied to a tree. The see of Lindisfarne came to an end, the monastery was sacked and then burnt, and the monks, taking up their precious possessions—the head of King Oswald, the body of Cuthbert, and the priceless Lindisfarne Gospels, now in the British Museum—started on their eight years' wanderings, which lasted till they found temporary rest at Chester-le-Street. The famous school at York was blotted out, and, in short, it was a time of general desolation for the Church.

Then Alfred, King of Wessex, arose to restore both Church and nation. After being compelled to retire to the isle of Athelney, in Somersetshire, he was able to obtain a great victory over the

Danes at Ethandun, and dictate his own terms to them. Guthrun, their leader, accepted baptism, and the Danes were settled in the Danelaw—roughly that part of England which lay to the north-east of Watling Street. How real the conversion of the Danes was, may be measured by the fact that in less than one hundred years three archbishops of the English Church belonged to the Danish race. But their previous ravages had inflicted grave injury on the Church. We have Alfred's authority for the statement in the preface to his edition of the *Pastoral* of Pope Gregory, that there were few priests on the south of the Humber who could translate Latin into English, while at the beginning of his reign he did not know a single one south of the Thames. He was called upon to build again a house which had practically fallen into ruins. It is characteristic both of Alfred's spirit and of the intimate connection between the Church and Nation that when the king drew up his code of laws he prefaced it with the Ten Commandments. So, too, he set to work to rebuild churches, to restore and found monasteries, to open schools, to establish libraries, and to translate books. To assist him in these works he called various scholars to his side—Grimbald from Gaul, John from Germany, and especially Asser from St. Davids—a most significant fact, showing that the old antagonism between the British Church in Wales and the

Church in England was breaking down, its place, indeed, being taken by friendly co-operation. The Welsh Asser ended his days as Bishop of Sherborne, while from this time forward, on some occasions at any rate, bishops for Wales were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Alfred could truly say of himself, in his translation of Boethius, that "so long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily, and after my death to be remembered by posterity for good works." He was a great king and a great churchman. He left behind him a holy and a stainless record, and his name to this day excites the admiration and affection of his fellow-countrymen.

We have seen that one of the injuries inflicted by the Danish invasions was the destruction of the monasteries. Their re-establishment and reform was due chiefly to Dunstan and his friends Odo, Oswald, and Ethelwold. Dunstan was eminent as a student, an artist, a musician, and a craftsman, but for the present purpose it is his work as an ecclesiastic and as a statesman that is important. The idea still lingers that he compelled all the clergy to dismiss their wives, enforcing celibacy on all in Holy Orders. This is not so. Doubtless, like other ecclesiastical reformers of that period, he encouraged celibacy, but he did not enforce it. His reforms, moreover, were concerned with the monasteries and cathedral churches, not with the parochial clergy. That



monastic reform was necessary is clear. Strict discipline is of the essence of monasticism; but at Glastonbury, for instance, when Dunstan became abbot, it was scarcely recognisable as a monastery. Spurred on by the Benedictine revival which had taken place at the Abbey of Fleury, on the Continent, Dunstan and his friends did much to restore among the religious orders obedience to their rule, and it was in this connection that his friends, rather than himself, advocated celibacy. "It is," says Bishop Stubbs, "the enforcement of monastic discipline, not the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, that is the object of the clerical reforms."<sup>1</sup> But monastic reform was only part, and that, perhaps, not the most important part, of Dunstan's achievements. From the time of the accession of Edred in 946 till the murder of Edward the Martyr in 978, Dunstan, as Abbot of Glastonbury and afterwards as Bishop of Worcester, of London, and finally as Archbishop of Canterbury, wielded the chief power in the kingdom. He used it well, labouring for the peace of the country and the co-operation of Dane with Saxon. It was at his suggestion that the Archbishop of the Danish North joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Saxon South in the coronation of the king, and the custom has endured ever since. Nor was he by any means subservient to the Papacy, as is seen

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Introduction to the Rolls Series*, p. 32.

from his excommunication of one of Edgar's earls for a breach of the marriage law, and his refusal to remove the excommunication in spite of a Papal decision in the earl's favour.

Well may it be said that "Dunstan stands first in the line of ecclesiastical statesmen who counted among them Lanfranc and Wolsey, and ended in Laud."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after Dunstan's death in 988 the Danes and Norwegian vikings renewed their invasions. Their incursions were characterised by all the savagery of their methods of warfare, and among others they brutally murdered Alphege, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they put to death at Greenwich on his refusal to allow the poor to be burdened by the raising of a sum of money for his ransom. In the result England passed under the rule of her Danish kings. It is a striking testimony to the power and patriotism of the Church that though it had been the centre of national resistance to the Dane, Canute "sought above all its friendship."<sup>2</sup>

Hardicanute, the son of Canute, was succeeded by the Saxon Edward the Confessor. He was Norman in speech, in education, and in his sympathies, weak both in his body and in his mind, but most religious and devout, and also pure in his life and character, and will always be remembered as "the Confessor," and as the founder of

<sup>1</sup> Green, i. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 123.



Westminster Abbey. In spite of his personal piety the vitality and influence of the Church declined during his reign. Moreover, he deliberately set himself to Normanise England both as regards the Church and the State, and with him "opens the first act of the drama of the Norman Conquest."<sup>1</sup> The way was paved by his ecclesiastical policy, for wherever possible the high places in the Church were filled by Normans. For example, Robert of Jumièges was made Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051. His influence over the king was immense, so much so that "a saying was long current that if Robert said a black crow was white, the king would at once believe him." This influence was, unfortunately, bad, being directed against Godwin and the national party. After Godwin's exile and death in 1051 Harold his son established himself by force as in effect the ruler of the country, though Edward was still nominally king, and Robert, the Archbishop, was compelled to escape from London, cutting his way through the crowd sword in hand. The question then arose as to what was to be done regarding the archbishopric. The primacy was not in reality vacant, since Robert had not been canonically deposed. However, quite illegally, Stigand, the Bishop of Winchester, the friend of Harold, was appointed, though not resigning the see of

<sup>1</sup> Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, p. 75.

Winchester. Robert appealed to the Pope, but no notice of this was taken in England, though most men looked askance at the new primate, many bishops refusing to acknowledge him as archbishop, or to be consecrated by him. Even his friend Harold was crowned by the Archbishop of York, not by Stigand, as the Bayeux tapestry pictures it. For a time Stigand was compelled to use the pallium<sup>1</sup> which Robert had left behind him in his hurry to escape, and when he did obtain one for himself, it was from an anti-pope who never succeeded in making good his claims to the Papal chair. By thus flouting the Pope England was deliberately playing into the hands of the Normans, and providing religious as well as secular reasons for the invasion which was now near at hand.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 52.

## CHAPTER V

### CHURCH AND STATE

(A.D. 1066 TO A.D. 1215; WILLIAM I TO JOHN)

THERE is no need to tell in detail the manner in which Harold was defeated and slain at Battle and William became king, for our business is to consider the results of the Conquest upon the future of the Church of England. The invasion was not less a religious crusade than a military enterprise. William was a friend of the Papacy, which blessed his expedition and granted it a consecrated banner. It was a "holy war," designed to punish Harold, the "perjurer and usurper," and to bring England to its knees in obedience to the see of Rome. Freeman has pointed out that England's "crime in the eyes of Rome—the crime to punish which William's crusade was approved and blessed—was the independence still retained by the island Church and nation. A land where the Church and nation were but different names for the same community; a land where priests and prelates were subject to the law like other men; a land where the king and his witan gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which, in the

eyes of Rome, was more dangerous than a land of Jews and Saracens.”<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly the immediate result of the Conquest was the setting up of a closer relationship between England and Rome. Without doubt there was a good side to this, for the danger of the English Church was its tendency to get into, and be content in, a backwater, and it needed to be brought once more into the main stream of the life of the Western Church. Through the Conquest it lost much of its insular character and was started on a new career. But the influence of the Papacy after the Conquest must not be exaggerated, for the Church of England did not then, nor ever afterwards, become so subject to Rome as to lose its separate identity. While William was most respectful to the Pope, he maintained intact the civil and ecclesiastical independence of England. When Gregory VII, better known as Hildebrand, demanded that he should do homage for his kingdom, the Conqueror flatly refused. “I refuse to do homage, nor will I, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that it was rendered by my predecessors to your predecessors.”<sup>2</sup> The king claimed that it was for him to decide between any rival claimants to the papal chair before spiritual homage should be paid them

<sup>1</sup> *The Norman Conquest*, iii. p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 57.

by his subjects; no papal legate could enter the country, nor could papal letters be received there, without his permission; a bishop had to do homage like any other baron, nor could he leave the country without the king's consent. He exercised control over the Councils called by the primate, and, in short, he, and not the Pope, was supreme over the Church. Those who imagine that royal supremacy was an invention of Henry VIII would do well to study the history of the Conquest, for they would find, as Dean Church says, that "few points of ecclesiastical supremacy were claimed by Henry VIII which were not also claimed and possessed, though it may be differently used, by Norman William."<sup>1</sup> It is a striking proof of the autonomy of the National Church during William's reign that when the Pope ordered Archbishop Lanfranc to come to Rome by a certain day on pain of deposition, the Archbishop did not go, nor was he deposed.

The second result of the Conquest was a change in the personnel of the Church, the highest places, the bishoprics and the abbacies, being given to Normans. The changes were in themselves improvements, for William took great trouble to find the best men for the posts. But in the result, by the time of the Conqueror's death, only one Englishman, Wulfstan of Worcester, remained in an English bishopric. As it

<sup>1</sup> *St. Anselm and William Rufus*, p. 148.

is often made a charge against the Church in Wales that from this time Normans were appointed to its bishoprics, it is well to notice that the Church in England suffered (if suffering it was) in the same way, though, as a matter of fact, the process began later in Wales than in England, the first Norman to hold a Welsh see being Bernard, appointed to St. Davids in 1115. As illustrations of William's appointments may be mentioned Gundulph, the famous Norman builder, appointed to Rochester, and Paul of Caen, a relation of Lanfranc, appointed to the Abbey of St. Albans. The chief change was in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, for Stigand was naturally marked out for severe treatment, and in 1070 he was deposed. Three charges were brought against him. He was a pluralist, holding two sees, Canterbury and Winchester, at the same time; he had seized the primacy during the lifetime of its legitimate occupant, Robert of Jumièges; and he had received his pallium,<sup>1</sup> not from the Pope, but from an usurper to the papal throne. The Conqueror had already decided on the man who was to follow Stigand. This was Lanfranc, and the choice could hardly have been better. While still young, Lanfranc had journeyed from Italy to Avranches, and there opened a school, but in time had given this up in obedience to a call to the monastic

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 52.



life. He joined the then insignificant monastery at Bec, and here continued his work as a teacher, pupils flocking to his lectures. The reputation of the abbey rose to a great height, and when Lanfranc became its prior he was one of the best-known men in Normandy. He was of assistance to William in his negotiations with the Papacy in reference to his marriage with his cousin Matilda, and became the Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen and the Duke's trusted minister. From 1070 to 1089 he held the Archbishopric of Canterbury, a great scholar, lawyer, organiser, and statesman, the right man in every way to guide the English Church through the changes involved in the Conquest.

Another result was the removal of the bishoprics from villages to towns. The Celts had placed their bishops' chairs in out-of-the-way places. For instance, Aidan worked from the island of Lindisfarne rather than from York, which had been the centre of the Roman mission work in Northumbria. Some of the Anglo-Saxon bishoprics founded by the Roman missionaries had likewise been much off the beaten track. The position of the bishop was now to be raised in importance, and it was considered desirable, therefore, that his cathedral should be more at the centre of affairs. As examples of the way in which the change was carried out, we may instance Selsey removed to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester, and



Wells to Bath. The new spirit which dictated these alterations also produced a great deal of building activity, and the signs of Norman work are abundant on every side, in cathedral, collegiate, town, and village churches.

The greatest, however, of all the Norman changes was the separation between the ecclesiastical and the civil courts. Until the Conquest the courts had been of a mixed character, clergy and laity sitting side by side, and trying all kinds of cases, whether they related to civil or ecclesiastical matters. Such a system must have been in itself repellent to the Norman love of method and order. It was, besides, inconsistent with the spirit of Pope Gregory VII's ecclesiastical reforms, one of the main purposes of which was to draw a sharp and clear line of demarcation between the ecclesiastical and the temporal elements in human life. These reforms were fully accepted by William; and, accordingly, in 1086 he enjoined "the episcopal laws to be mended, as not having been kept properly, nor according to the decrees of the sacred canons throughout the realm of England, even to my own times. Accordingly I command and charge you by royal authority that no bishop nor archbishop do hereafter hold pleas of episcopal laws in the Hundred, nor bring a cause to the judgment of secular men which concerns the rule of souls. But whoever shall be impleaded by the episcopal laws for any cause or crime, let him

come to the place which the bishops shall choose and name for this purpose, and there answer for his cause or crime, and not according to the Hundred, but according to the canons and episcopal laws, and let him do right to God and his bishop. . . . This too I absolutely forbid, that any sheriff, reeve, or king's minister, or any other layman, do in any wise concern himself with the laws which belong to the bishop, or bring another man to judgment save in the bishop's court."<sup>1</sup> The relationship between Church and State before the Conquest has been compared to that between body and soul, but from henceforth it was rather to be like that which should exist between husband and wife. For the future there were to be two kinds of courts, lay officials only sitting in the one and trying none but civil cases, none but ecclesiastics sitting in the other and concerning themselves with ecclesiastical cases only.

Between the reigns of William Rufus and John the Church was called upon to lead in three important controversies, underlying each of which was the question of the right form of the relationship between Church and State. Anselm is the chief figure in the first of these, Thomas Becket in the second, and Stephen Langton in the third. William II was a man of infamous life, a cruel and profligate enemy of religion. He was, to some extent, held in check by Lanfranc during

<sup>1</sup> See Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-8.

the first two years of his reign, but after the Archbishop's death in 1089, he threw all restraint to the winds. Among many other iniquities, acting on the advice of his boon-companion, the low-born Norman, Ralph Flambard, whom he made Bishop of Durham, he kept bishoprics and abbacies vacant all over the country, appropriating their revenues to himself; and when forced to fill them up, selling them to the highest bidders. Even the archbishopric was without an occupant for four years, and, as a contemporary writer puts it, "God's Church was brought very low." But in 1093 Rufus lay at Gloucester on what all regarded as his deathbed, and there endeavoured to make the proverbial deathbed repentance. Anselm, the Abbot of Bec, the foremost theologian of his day, and a saint if ever there was one, happened to be at this time in England, and the archbishopric was literally forced upon him. It was a real case of *nolo episcopari*, for, as he himself said, an old, feeble sheep was being yoked to an untamable bull. The king did not die, and on his recovery men may well have doubted whether Anselm could hold his own with such a man. "God shall never have me good in return for the ill that He has brought me," was the blasphemous utterance of the king. Of Anselm it has been said that "he had grown to manhood in the quiet solitude of his mountain-valley [in Piedmont], a tender-hearted poet dreamer, with a soul pure as the Alpine

snows above him, and an intelligence keen and clear as the mountain air.”<sup>1</sup> Yet this scholar-monk was quite capable of braving the force and brutality of the king. A pretext for a quarrel was soon found, for Anselm asked permission to go to Rome for his pallium.<sup>2</sup> Whilst Abbot of Bec, he had accepted Urban as Pope, but there was also an anti-pope, and so far William had not accepted either, and as we have seen Norman legislation reserved to the king the right of deciding between rival claimants to the papal throne. A violent dispute ensued, the bishops, almost to a man, being against the primate; but by means of negotiation at Rome the trouble blew over, and the pallium was sent and laid upon the altar at Canterbury Cathedral. So things went on until, two years later, Anselm, weary of the brutal treatment meted out to him and the Church, asked leave to go to Rome, for it was clear that the king intended to crush him, and as he was fighting single-handed, there seemed nothing left

<sup>1</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, i. 136.

<sup>2</sup> The pallium (which was in all probability a part of the imperial dress which the Emperors allowed the Pope to wear without incurring the penalty of high treason) was a lamb's-wool scarf which was originally a mark of honour, but from the ninth century began to be regarded as a symbol of jurisdiction, Rome claiming that no archbishop could perform any metropolitanical function until after its reception. Yet Lanfranc consecrated Thomas to York in 1074, not going to Rome for his pallium till the following year; while Anselm consecrated Robert to Lincoln in 1094, some time before his pallium arrived from Rome.

but to lay his case before the Pope. The result of his request was his banishment, during which Rufus "departed in the midst of his unrighteousness, without repentance and any atonement."<sup>1</sup> It is impossible within the limits of our space to go into the details of the controversies between king and Archbishop, but underlying them all was the question whether the Church was the creation of the king, or whether it had an origin which in spiritual matters raised it beyond and above all secular control.

When Henry I succeeded to the throne, Anselm was recalled, and for a time there was peace, though trouble was soon to break out again, on an important matter of principle. While in exile the primate had been present at a Council held in Rome in 1099, and had accepted the orders then laid down on the subject of investiture. Up to this time a newly-appointed bishop or abbot had received his ring and pastoral staff from the hands of the king, to whom he had also done homage for the temporalities of his office. The Roman Council absolutely forbade such investiture by, and homage to, laymen on the part of ecclesiastics, and when Anselm was called upon to do homage to the king soon after his return to England for the restitution of the possession of his see, he naturally refused. Neither king nor primate would give way; again there was negotia-

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno 1100 A.D.



tion at Rome, and again Anselm was banished. This time, however, the question was settled, so far as England was concerned, by a compromise, bishops being allowed to do homage for the possessions attached to their sees, but not being allowed to receive investiture with ring or pastoral staff at the hands of any layman. The fight centred round a matter of ceremonial, but the real question at issue was this—Is the bishop merely the king's man, bound to serve and obey him in the same way as any lay vassal who had done similar homage and received similar investiture, or do his powers as a bishop come to him from God through the Church?

The second controversy is that of Thomas Becket with Henry II on the question of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. The anarchy of Stephen's reign, when men "said openly that Christ and His saints slept," was now at an end, and Henry II had come to the throne determined to carry out badly-needed reforms. We have seen how the Conqueror had separated the ecclesiastical and the civil courts, so that laymen should try civil cases and ecclesiastics those causes which touched Church laws. But the matter was not clear from difficulty, for what was to be done when clergy were guilty of civil offences? Should their only trial be that of the ecclesiastical courts, which were simply able to fine, imprison, and deprive, or should their civil crimes



be dealt with in the same way as the similar crimes of laymen? Moreover, the word "clerk" meant much more then than now, for it not only meant persons in holy orders, but practically included all educated persons, many who had not the slightest intention of becoming clergymen in the modern sense of the word being able to demand "benefit of clergy." That there was need of legislation is clear from the fact that we read of more than one hundred murders committed by clerks in the first nine years of Henry's reign. Was there, then, to be one law for the rich or educated, and another for the poor or ignorant? Such was the question at issue, the king demanding that criminous clerks should be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and, if convicted, handed over to the civil courts for punishment. In 1164 Henry produced the famous "Constitutions of Clarendon," embodying for the most part the legislation of previous reigns. Two of the sixteen Constitutions are for our purposes of chief importance. The eighth regulated the question of appeals, ordering that no appeal should go beyond the Archbishop's court (*i.e.* to Rome) without the king's consent. "In appeals, when they occur, from the archdeacon they ought to proceed to the bishop, from the bishop to the Archbishop. And if the Archbishop fail to give justice, last of all recourse must be had to the lord king, that by his precept the controversy

may be ended in the court of the Archbishop; so that it ought not to proceed further without the assent of the lord king." The third of the Constitutions dealt with "benefit of clergy," laying it down that a clerk who had been convicted, or had confessed his crime, in the ecclesiastical courts should no longer be protected by the Church:—

"Clerks accused and charged with any matter, being summoned by the king's justice, shall come into his court, to answer there concerning that upon which it shall seem right to the king's court that answer should be made there, and in the Church court concerning that which shall seem right to be answered there, so that the king's justice shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what manner the thing shall be treated there. And if the clerk shall have been convicted, or have confessed, the Church ought not to defend him any longer."

At first Becket accepted, but then withdrew his acceptance, regarding the Constitutions as an attack on clerical privileges. The rupture between the old friends was complete, and the Archbishop fled, remaining abroad until 1170. Then a reconciliation of a sort was effected, and Becket returned to England, entering Canterbury on Palm Sunday amid the waving of branches, with clothes strewed in the way. What followed is well known. Within a few weeks of his return, the primate acted

rashly, and in compliance with the king's wish that someone "would rid him of this troublesome priest," Reginald Fitzurse and three other knights entered Canterbury Cathedral and slew the Archbishop. It is no exaggeration to say that a shudder of horror passed through the whole of Christendom at the deed, and within three years, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been canonised, the king doing penance at the martyr's tomb, while the Constitutions of Clarendon were put on one side. Becket became the best known of all the English saints, and as the *Canterbury Tales* remind us, there were no more popular pilgrimages than those to his shrine. The cause for which he fought triumphed. To our eyes Henry's desire to establish the supremacy of the law seems clearly right. But in an age when the tyranny of Rufus was a recent memory, and every class was "in danger of being stifled by an overmastering central power, the power of an unrestrained and arbitrary king,"<sup>1</sup> it may well have seemed that "benefit of clergy" was a valuable shelter for learning and a safeguard for liberty.

This question of liberty comes even more prominently forward in the third controversy—that of Stephen Langton and the barons with King John. He, one of the worst of our kings, quarrelled with Pope Innocent III, "the greatest of all the successors of Peter," and the man who raised the

<sup>1</sup> Hutton, *Becket*, p. 266.

Papacy to the greatest heights it has ever attained. On the death of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1205, there was a disputed election between John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, and Reginald, the Sub-prior of Canterbury, and as neither the king nor the Canterbury monks, both of whom claimed the right of appointment, would give way, there was an appeal to Rome. The Pope dismissed both the candidates, and in 1207 consecrated Stephen Langton, an Englishman and a Cardinal, who was then in Rome. The Canterbury Chapter had no redress for the rejection of their candidate, but John refused to give way and accept Langton instead of his own nominee, with the result that England was placed under an interdict, the effect of which was that most of the religious rites of the country ceased. In the following year, the king was excommunicated, and two years later the Pope announced his deposition, calling upon the King of France to execute the sentence. John's capitulation was abject to a degree, for not only did he accept Langton, but he surrendered England to the Papacy, receiving it back from the Pope as his servant and feudal tenant, promising at the same time a yearly tribute of 1000 marks to the Church of Rome. Meanwhile, his tyranny had roused the baronage to revolt, and when in 1213 Langton was at length able to come to England, he "assumed the constitutional position of the Primate as

champion of the old English customs and law against the personal despotism of the Kings." <sup>1</sup> At a Council held in St. Paul's Cathedral he produced and explained the charter of Henry I, which the barons, who were present, swore to maintain and fight for. Two years later, at Runnymede, John signed the Great Charter, Langton signing first for the barons: "Let the Church of England be free, and have her rights intact, and her liberties uninjured. No man shall be sold, or denied, or delayed right or justice." The Church had led the way, and the liberty on which we pride ourselves is the gift of the Church to the nation. It was in vain that the Pope took the part of John, cancelling the Charter, excommunicating the barons, and suspending Langton from his archbishopric. A confused fight followed, in the course of which John died. Ultimately the barons triumphed, and the liberties of Englishmen were henceforth settled on the sure basis of law, and no longer left to the will and good pleasure of the king.

<sup>1</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, i. p. 238.



## CHAPTER VI

### DECLINE

(A.D. 1215 TO A.D. 1509—JOHN TO HENRY VIII.)

BISHOP STUBBS has said that the thirteenth century was "a period unparalleled in mediæval history for brilliancy and fertility." It abounded in great men, statesmen, and scholars. It was the age of the friars, of the poet Dante, of such schoolmen as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, whilst Gothic architecture reached its perfection in the Early English style, as in Salisbury Cathedral. It was also the century in which the Papacy reached its greatest heights of power under Innocent III. King John had surrendered England to the Pope, and promised to pay his yearly tribute of 1000 marks, and the Popes were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them during the reign of Henry III. He was a weak man, and hoped by papal aid to gain the power he was not strong enough to secure for himself. Hence the Church was between the upper and the nether millstones; and from this time began the long series of papal exactions, the moneys being required for the conduct of the



Pope's secular wars in order to maintain and extend his temporal claims to sovereignty. Frequently these exactions took the form of tallages, as they were called—that is to say, payments by the clergy to the Pope as their feudal superior. Thus in 1225 one prebend or manor belonging to every cathedral was demanded, and four years later a claim was set up to a tenth of all clerical property in the country. Then there were the annates, or first-fruits, consisting of the first year's clerical income, which, originally only payable in respect of livings in the Pope's gift, had gradually extended to all bishoprics and benefices in the land. By an even greater abuse the most important and lucrative posts in the Church were filled up by means of papal provisions, by which the Pope provided beforehand a person to fill a benefice on the next vacancy. In this way not only were the rights of the legitimate patrons disregarded, but the foreigners who were appointed to these positions generally remained abroad, neglecting their duties, and kept agents in England for the collection and transmission of their revenues. A typical example is the Cardinal Gaucelinus de Ossa, nephew of Pope John XXII, in the early part of the next century, who, in addition to lucrative positions at Saintes, Cahors, Rheims, and Rouen, acquired the livings of Lyminge, Hollingbourne, Pagham, and Hackney, together with the prebend of Driffild in York-

shire, and was not ashamed to apply in addition for the living of Stepney when it became vacant. Until his death at the papal court at Avignon in 1349 he managed to drain out of England over £1000 a year, equal to a very much larger sum in modern money. Appeals to Rome were frequent, in spite of the law of the land, involving delay, and what was far worse, large sums of money in fees and bribes to the papal curia before the business could be settled. Between 1215 and 1263 there were no fewer than thirty contested episcopal elections which were carried to Rome for settlement. What these appeals to Rome involved can be seen by the case of Heymo of Hythe, who was made Bishop of Rochester in 1319, after a disputed election and appeal to the Pope at Avignon. The sums of money expended there for the settlement of the business were so large, that on his return the clergy of his diocese had to subscribe twelve pence out of every mark of their income in order to tide their bishop over his first year of office. Besides all these exactions there was Peter's Pence, originally a voluntary offering, now claimed as a right by the Pope. Such things caused great scandal to churchmen. The learned and pious Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, despaired of the future, and left England for Pontigny, to spend his last days in prayer for the Church; while Grosseteste, the Bishop of Lincoln, who

was made of sterner stuff, steadily protested against the exactions of the Papacy, refusing to institute its nominees to livings in his diocese. He declined to provide a canonry at Lincoln for Frederick de Lavagna, the nephew of Innocent IV, declaring that the letter requiring him to do so "is not in harmony with apostolic holiness, but is utterly at variance therefrom. . . . It cannot be, therefore, that the Apostolic See, to which has been given by our Lord power for edification, and not for destruction, should issue a command so hateful . . . nor can anyone who is faithful to the said holy see obey commands such as this, even though they should emanate from the highest order of angels . . . but must of necessity resist them with his whole strength. . . . Out of filial obedience I decline to obey, I resist, I rebel."<sup>1</sup> To the end he remained firm, and with his last utterances denounced the abuses of the papal curia. How great was the exaction is shown by Matthew Paris: "To such a pitch had the avarice of the Romans been allowed to grow, and such a point had it reached, that the Bishop of Lincoln, being struck with amazement at it, caused his clerks carefully to reckon and estimate all the revenues of foreigners in England, and it was discovered and found for truth that the present Pope, Innocent IV, had pauperised the whole Church more than all his predecessors

<sup>1</sup> See *Student's English Church History*, vol. i. pp. 346-8.

from the time of the primitive Papacy. The revenue of the alien clerks whom he had planted in England, and whom the Roman Church had enriched, amounted to more than 70,000 marks. The king's revenue could not be reckoned at more than a third part of that sum."<sup>1</sup>

While the bishops and parochial clergy were thus being oppressed by Rome, the various orders of monks in England had largely rid themselves of any episcopal oversight or supervision, and were acquiring much land by purchase and by gift. Such land ceased to bear its due share in taxation and feudal burdens, since the clergy could not be called upon for military service, which was the basis of all contributions to the service of the State. The abuse was aggravated by what Bishop Stubbs describes as "the fraudulent bestowal of estates on religious foundations, on the understanding that the donor should hold them as fiefs of the Church"—that is to say, the religious house was the nominal owner, while the donor continued to hold the property, but escaped his share of public burdens. To put an end to this, the Statute of Mortmain was passed in 1279 (in the reign of Edward I), forbidding the passing of land into "the dead hand" of the Church. It was, however, largely evaded.

There is, however, another and much more beneficial side to the history of the thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Series), vol. v. p. 355.

century, for the coming of the friars wrought much good among the people. St. Francis of Assisi had formed his order of "brothers minor," who had taken holy poverty as their bride, and literally begged their way from door to door. They were a body of mission preachers, living among the people, and sharing their hard and simple life, ministering to the poor, the sick, and the outcast; in a word, popularising religion, and bringing the Church to the people rather than the people to the Church. St. Dominic's order of friars aimed at reformation from another point of view, for he and his followers appealed to the mind rather than to the heart. They formed a society of learned preachers, and in their black and white dress acted as the Lord's watchdogs (*Domini canes*), driving out heresy and false teaching by their learning. The failure of the friars in later days must not blind us to the fact that in the thirteenth century they did much to restore vitality and purity to the Church.

The fourteenth century was a time of deterioration. The Papacy had reached its zenith and begun to decline. For nearly seventy years (1309-1376) men beheld the spectacle of Popes no longer living in Rome, but at Avignon, in the south of France, elected and ruling under the power of the French kings, till they were little more than "an ornamental adjunct to the Court at Paris." Worse was to follow, for after the Pope returned



to Rome, there broke out the great schism (1378-1417), during which the various rival claimants to the papal chair were excommunicating one another's adherents. It was during this period of the so-called Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon that English resistance to papal abuses came to a head, for the moneys which were going out of the country to Avignon could quite easily be used against England in its wars with France. It was vain for Edward III and the Black Prince to win Crécy and Poitiers if money drawn from English sources could be used to repair French disasters. England was indeed gaining its nickname of "the milch cow of the Papacy," and the English Church was becoming the Pope's "garden of delights and inexhaustible well." The Parliament of 1376 protested that "God gave His sheep to be pastured, not to be shorn," but something more than words was necessary. Accordingly, the famous Acts of Parliament, Provisors and Præmunire, were placed on the Statute Book. The Statute of Provisors of 1351 (it was re-enacted in 1390) ordered that elections to benefices should be free, and that the patrons should have their rights, complained that the Pope gave away English benefices to aliens as if he were their patron, and enacted that if he did make a "provision" to any position, the appointment should pass into the hands of the king. This, however, still left it possible for the provided person to



appeal to Rome. The Statute of Præmunire, therefore, followed in 1353 (it was re-enacted in 1393) as a logical necessity, making it treason to carry an appeal to Rome against the king. These Acts failed to stop the abuse, for both provisions and appeals continued, but at all events the position of England was made clear. Finally, in 1366 the payment of the annual tribute instituted by John was repudiated. It was much in arrears, and Urban V demanded its payment. Parliament was consulted by Edward III, and replied "that neither John nor any other person could subject the nation to another power without the consent of the nation." As Bishop Creighton says, "Urban V withdrew his claim in silence, and no mention was ever made again by the Papacy of suzerainty over England."<sup>1</sup>

The anti-papal feeling of the fourteenth century centres round the name of Wycliffe (1320-1384). There had been plenty of opposition before his days, but so far it had been directed against papal practice. Now it was to be concerned with papal doctrine as well. Born in Yorkshire, he had proceeded to Oxford, and there obtained recognition as the greatest schoolman of his day, "the flower of Oxford scholarship"—"incomparable in learning"—"transcending all in the subtlety of thought," whilst his special devotion to the study of the Bible earned for him the name of the

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Papacy*, vol. i. p. 116.

"Doctor Evangelisticus."<sup>1</sup> At first he was tender towards the Papacy, but the spectacle of the Great Schism destroyed any remnants of respect for it that may have been left in his mind, and he openly calls it antichrist: "Christ has begun to help us graciously in that He has cloven the head of antichrist, and made the one part fight against the other." He was a voluminous writer, pouring forth Latin treatises and popular tracts. The friars, with monks and nuns, are denounced because they squander national wealth, and do no service to the State or the poor; non-residence and the State employment of ecclesiastics are attacked; while he regards the endowments of the Church (forgetful of the fact that he had been non-resident and employed by the State, and was a rector of a parish) as the root of all evil, to cure which the Church must return to apostolic poverty. Above all, he attacks the scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation, though here we must remember that (as Capes says) "in dealing with these various theories his arguments abound in hair-splitting subtleties of scholastic logic, and therefore perhaps it has been said that his own position was as metaphysically abstruse as those which he so violently attacked."<sup>2</sup>

In Wycliffe's eyes the great weapon for reform

<sup>1</sup> See Capes' *History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

was preaching: "Public prayer is good, but not so good as preaching." So he set to work on his translation of the Bible, a work which was fair and honest, without any doctrinal bias, and naturally based solely on the Vulgate. It was the first translation of the whole Bible into English. But the Bible, by itself, he felt to be insufficient, for some agency was needed to spread its text and its teaching among the people, and accordingly he started his band of poor priests, whom he trained for the work. They were to be poor, though not mendicants like the friars, and were to mingle constantly with the people, cutting out the friars at the work which formerly they had so nobly done. Certainly such work was necessary, for while there is a bright side to the devotion of the people to their Church in the Middle Ages, there were numberless abuses. It is true that Chaucer is able to paint us his beautiful portrait of the "poor parson of a town," whose life did not give the lie to his doctrine, since

"Christ's lore, and His apostles twelve,  
He taught, but first he followed it himself,"

yet he also shows us the prioress with her brooch embroidered with the motto "*Amor vincit omnia*," the sport-loving monk, the fair-spoken, roving, mendicant friar, the hard-drinking summoner or bailiff of the ecclesiastical courts, and the greedy, deceitful pardoner with his stock of sham relics to deceive the people.

Wycliffe's teaching found a ready response all over the country. It is unfortunate that there was so much crude socialism in it, for ignorant men were more than ready to seize on part only of what he taught, readily agreeing with his doctrine that "dominion is founded in grace"—that is, that since all property and power come from God, none has a right to them if guilty of mortal sin—when it applied to other people's property. The Peasants' Revolt in 1381 opened men's eyes to the dangerous element in his teaching, and he was condemned as a heretic by the Council held at Blackfriars under Archbishop Courtenay in 1382. His person was untouched, and he ended his days at Lutterworth, which living he continued to hold until his death in 1384.

His work was continued by the Lollards, who were somewhat of a mixed body, for "Lollardism became a sort of cave of Adullam," consisting of people with grievances, either real or imaginary, against both the Church and the State. It was regarded by the authorities as a disturbing social and political influence, and was sternly repressed, the Statute "De Haeretico Comburendo" being passed in 1401 to provide for the burning of Lollards who refused to renounce their views. With the execution of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) in 1418, Lollardism ceased to be a danger to the State, though one cannot say to what extent Lollard opinions continued to be held and how far

they prepared the way for the Reformation in the sixteenth century. At Oxford Lollardism was completely suppressed, but, says Green, "with the death of religious freedom all trace of intellectual life suddenly disappears. The century which followed the triumphs of Courtenay is the most barren in its annals, nor was the sleep of the University broken till the advent of the New Learning restored to it some of the life and liberty which the Primate had so roughly trodden out."<sup>1</sup>

"The history of the century after Wycliffe's death was but a series of steps towards the Reformation."<sup>2</sup> The friars had become a byword and a reproach. The older religious orders were sinking into mere landowners, and the parochial clergy failed to recover from the Black Death. In the five years 1349-54, Newton Purcell in Oxfordshire had no fewer than six rectors, while in East Anglia over eight hundred incumbents perished in one year. A less educated set of men took the place of the old clergy, Bishop Bateman of Norwich allowing sixty clerks who were "only shavelings," and under the age for ordination, to hold rectories, as otherwise the Offices of the Church would have entirely ceased in some parts of his diocese. The monasteries suffered severely, not many candidates for the monastic life coming forward, while few

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, i. p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Hutton, *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, p. 108.



new monasteries were created, men preferring to leave their money for colleges and hospitals. William of Wykeham (1324-1404), himself a Bishop and Chancellor, set the example by the foundation of his great school at Winchester. Between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century no fewer than twelve colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were founded by archbishops and bishops, the first of which was Merton College, Oxford, founded at the end of the thirteenth century by Bishop Merton of Rochester.

During the fifteenth century the Church lay helpless while England exhausted herself in the great dynastic struggle of York and Lancaster. When peace came at last with the accession of Henry VII English freedom had perished, and clergy and people alike lay at the mercy of Tudor tyranny. Meanwhile a great world-movement was beginning to shake the foundations of society. It may truly be said that the rapacity of Rome and the degeneracy of the clergy might not have sufficed to produce the Reformation but for the Renaissance. The discovery of the New World, the invention of printing, the work of Copernicus, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, all combined to widen men's outlook, and to open a new world to their view. Eastern scholarship was introduced into the West, and scholars flocked to Italy for purposes of study. It was a real "new birth" of learning. English scholars, such as Colet, Linacre,



and Grocyn, studied at Florence, and on their return to England began their educational work. Before the death of Henry VII Grocyn was lecturing at Oxford, while Colet, now Dean of St. Paul's, was preaching on the Epistles of St. Paul "like one inspired," and founding his school which, said Sir Thomas More, was "like a wooden horse in which armed Greeks were hidden for the ruin of barbarous Troy." Before long Erasmus had produced his epoch-making book, the New Testament in Greek. Warham, the primate, and the young king, Henry VIII, were both in sympathy with the revival, while Wolsey, too, raised to a position of practically absolute power in Church and State, was hard at work with a view to the desired reformation. Seven lectureships were founded at Oxford and filled with men who were in sympathy with the movement, monasteries being suppressed and their endowments utilised for the purpose. As Legate, Wolsey proposed to hold a general visitation of the clergy, to enforce the fulfilment of their duties, and he also aimed at an increase of the episcopate. Everything seemed ripe for a real reformation of the Church, and this by means of the spread of learning, and carried out in a quiet and peaceful manner. The Reformation was, indeed, near at hand; but it was not to come in the way desired by the Humanists, or under their guidance, nor was it to be carried out by such a man as Wolsey.

## CHAPTER VII

### REFORM

(A.D. 1509 TO A.D. 1547 ; HENRY VIII)

BEFORE proceeding to consider in detail the actual changes which were made during the Reformation period, it is necessary that we should be quite clear regarding certain important principles which underlie that movement. Each of the three words "The English Reformation" deserves consideration. When we say "the" English Reformation we mean, not the only movement in history of that nature, but one out of many, and the greatest of them all. There had been other reformations before it ; Gregory VII had reformed the Church in the eleventh century ; the coming of the friars in the thirteenth was a movement of a similar character ; the Councils of Pisa and Constance in the fifteenth century were reforming Councils ; while the "revival of letters" aimed among other things at effecting reform in the Church by means of learning and sound knowledge. Similarly there have been others since ; as, for instance, the counter-Reformation, in which, at the Council of Trent, Rome

tried too late to regain the allegiance of those countries which had been forced to separate from it. In this country, too, we have had Methodism, the Evangelical Revival, and the Oxford Movement.

Secondly, it is the "English" Reformation which we are to consider. The Reformation in England was not merely a department of the movement which was taking place in Germany and elsewhere, nor was everything done abroad slavishly imitated here. Yet we were not completely isolated, as if the Continental movement had no influence of any sort or kind upon us. Our Reformation may, indeed, be split up into distinct periods. While Henry VIII reigned it was distinctly English; when Edward VI succeeded to the throne there was a Continental reaction, for those who had come under the influence of the Reformation abroad then controlled and guided the course of affairs; under Mary there was a short Roman reaction; while in Elizabeth's reign there was an English settlement of religion, as against Rome on the one side and Geneva on the other. The whole movement has rightly been called a series of "experiments in Anglicanism," and it was only gradually that the final changes were worked out.

Thirdly, it is the English "Reformation." Abroad there was destruction and schism, while

in England there was reconstruction and preservation, continuity with the past being most carefully preserved. The thirtieth of the Canons issued by Convocation in 1604 declares that "so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches in all things which they held and practised, that, as the apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolic Churches, which were their first founders." There was no abolition of one Church that another might be set up in its place, for both as regards name, life, doctrine, Holy Orders, and property there is a complete continuity between the pre-Reformation and the existing Church of England. The image used long ago by Archbishop Bramhall will bear repetition: "The Church of England before the Reformation and the Church of England after the Reformation are as much the same Church, as a garden before it be weeded and after it is weeded is the same garden; or a vine before it be pruned and after it is pruned and freed from the luxurious branches is one and the

same vine." To change the image, the Church at the Reformation washed its face. The image is useful, for there are grave differences of opinion as to the value of particular alterations then made; perhaps the rubbing was too severe, so that precious skin was lost when the dirt was removed; perhaps it was too slight, so that dirt still remains on the face, but be this as it may, the face is the same.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the Reformation in England started from above and worked downwards. There was no demand by the people for reformation at all costs, for while there were abuses, these were neither so deep nor so extensive as they were abroad. The movement started with the king and the leaders of the Church, and only gradually was it either understood or appreciated by the bulk of the people. So, too, while Henry VIII reigned it was practical, not doctrinal in character, for the king made the same profession of faith at his death as he had made when he ascended the throne. Early in his reign he wrote his treatise on the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, earning thereby both the gratitude of the Pope and the title "Defender of the Faith," and when he died the "Statute of the Six Articles," passed in 1539, which compelled men to believe in Transubstantiation, the sufficiency of communion in

<sup>1</sup> Some modern witnesses to the continuity of the Church of England will be found in Appendix I.



one kind, the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, the observance of vows of chastity, private masses, and the necessity of auricular confession, was still in force as law.

If, then, Henry VIII did not reform the doctrines of the Church, what did he do? The answer is, that the great central event of the Reformation in his reign was the emphatic reassertion of the independence of the National Church. It is misleading to say that the Reformation started from the king's lust, for the divorce question was its occasion only, not its cause. Henry had married his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, and after some years, in 1526, requested the Pope to declare the marriage null and void, on the ground of its being contrary to the law of God, although a previous Pope had granted a dispensation to allow it to be contracted. The matter was extremely complicated. Apart from the ecclesiastical difficulty involved in asking the Pope to undo the work of his predecessor, his interests as a temporal sovereign were seriously affected, for if he declared in favour of Henry, he knew there would be trouble with Catherine's nephew, the powerful Emperor Charles, while if he decided for Catherine, there would be a quarrel with Henry and England. So he temporised, hoping that time would solve the awkward question. But the king was impatient for his marriage with Anne Boleyn. It was Wolsey's failure to



secure the divorce that brought about his fall in 1530, and on Cranmer's advice the king determined to have the question settled in England apart altogether from the Papacy. If the Pope should accept the situation, well and good; if not, then so much the worse for the Pope. On Warham's death in 1532 Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and before long a court was held at Dunstable and the marriage declared null and void.

In the meanwhile the Reformation Parliament had been at work since 1529, and to make the king's position quite sure, certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Church were passed into law. In 1531 "The Submission of the Clergy" took place. Wolsey had been disgraced on the plea that by acting as Papal Legate, even at the king's request, he had been guilty of a *præmunire*, and the whole clergy were now charged with the same offence for having accepted Wolsey as Papal Legate. They bought their safety by paying an immense fine, and by acknowledging the king to be "so far as the law of Christ will allow Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy." To meet the objection of the bishops that the words "Supreme Head of the Church" might imply spiritual power in the king, Henry wrote letters to say that they only meant he was empowered to see that the spiritual functions were discharged for the good order and peace of society. By the Annates Act of 1532 the

payment to the Pope of the first year's income of bishoprics, &c., was stopped, and it was enacted that if he should thereupon place England under an interdict, it should be disregarded and divine service continue as usual. The Act mentions that "It is evidently known, that there has passed out of this realm unto the Court of Rome, since the second year of the reign of the most noble prince of famous memory, King Henry VII, unto this present time, under the name of annates, or first-fruits, paid for the expedition of bulls of archbishoprics and bishoprics, the sum of eight hundred thousand ducats, amounting in sterling money, at the least, to eight score thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this realm." In the same year Convocation agreed not to pass any new canons without the king's consent, and in 1533 the Statute in Restraint of appeals to Rome was passed. It was therein declared that "that part of the said body politic called the spirituality, being usually called the English Church, which always hath been regarded and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this time, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person, to declare and determine all such offices and duties as to

their rooms spiritual doth appertain." This was not unexpected, and though it was doubtless desired by the king solely in order that the decree of divorce might be pronounced in England without the possibility of a successful appeal being carried to Rome, it was but the culmination of the long series of anti-papal statutes which had gone before. "It only needed the strong hand of a Tudor to guide and direct the anti-papal feeling of the English nation."<sup>1</sup> In the next year Convocation proceeded to resolve that the Pope had no greater jurisdiction in England bestowed upon him by God in Holy Scripture than any other foreign bishop—an attitude which has always been adopted by the Churches of the East; while the Act of Supremacy of the same year recognised the king's ecclesiastical headship over the Church, in terms more extreme than those agreed to by Convocation. It was repealed in subsequent years and never revived. Finally the bishops were forbidden to do homage to the Pope on their appointment, and all fees to Rome for dispensations and indulgences were abolished.

It must not be imagined from this legislation that the king put himself in the place formerly occupied by the Pope. He simply revived and exercised powers which previous sovereigns had claimed and exercised over the Church, for the history which we have been considering shows

<sup>1</sup> Aubrey Moore, *History of the Reformation*, p. 24.

that the king always had been supreme over all causes and persons, both ecclesiastical and temporal. The title, "Supreme Head," which was now conferred upon him was, to say the least, exceedingly ill-chosen, and in Elizabeth's reign was altered to that of "Supreme Governor," but it conferred no new powers on the sovereign. It did not grant him the right to alter the doctrine of the Church. The position as finally settled is explained in the thirty-seventh of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion: "We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments . . . but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given to all godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." But though no new powers were conferred, the old powers were exercised in a new way. Thomas Cromwell, one of the most unscrupulous statesmen in history, was in 1535 made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and empowered to carry out visitations, to correct, punish, and suspend the bishops and the clergy, to call synods, to confirm or annul the election of bishops. This wholesale delegation of a personal authority lasted for five years only, and was wholly unconstitutional. It was an act of pure tyranny. When Cromwell entered the king's

service Sir Thomas More had said to him, "ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him." Henry VIII now knew his strength, and Cromwell invented the machinery by which it could be used. By an outrageous extension of the law of treason, all who dissented from the most extreme version of the king's supremacy, including Fisher and More, were beheaded, while those who differed from the king's theological views were burnt as heretics.

Cromwell's chief work was the suppression of the monasteries—the smaller ones in 1536, the greater in 1539. This, too, had been done before. Alien priories had been suppressed in the reign of Henry V; whilst Wolsey had, only a few years before, suppressed a number of monastic houses in order to found his grammar school at Ipswich and college at Oxford. This time the suppression was to be a complete one. Their character was blackened, and the idea still remains with some people that monasteries were sinks of iniquity. Such charges cannot be proved. The Act of 1536 which suppressed the smaller monasteries thanked God that in the larger ones "religion was right well kept and observed." Yet these were suppressed three years later. Their day was, no doubt, over; they were slack as regards study and work, and were becoming mere country houses of bache-



lors or spinsters leading easy lives and doing little active work. The number of new monastic foundations had steadily declined from 440 in the twelfth century to only 8 in the fifteenth. Similarly the number of inmates in the existing monasteries was decreasing, a decrease which began with the Black Death. These facts might have formed some justification for the transfer of a part of the monastic endowments to other religious purposes. But they had very little to do with the actual proceedings of Henry and Cromwell. The king wished to destroy the monasteries partly because some of them were strongholds of the Roman party among the clergy, but even more because he was in want of money, and thought that robbing the monasteries was a popular way to obtain it. Accordingly Cromwell sent round Commissions to invent all sorts of baseless charges against the monks and nuns, and these gave to a servile Parliament the necessary excuse for confiscation.

Part of the proceeds of the dissolution, it is true, was used for the creation of six new dioceses (Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough), but the larger part of it found its way into the pockets of the king and his courtiers. Some of the monastic lands and tithes were given away by the king to his friends, probably more were sold, and hence tithe came into the possession of laymen called "lay impropria-



tors," and has since been bought and sold like any other property.

This was a real, though partial, disendowment of the Church, carried out with appropriately cynical injustice. Henry, the chief offender, despised his instrument Cromwell—he used to say when at cards he held the knave, "I have Cromwell"—and as soon as he had done his dirty work sent him to the block.

The immediate result of the suppression of the smaller monasteries was rebellion. It began in Lincolnshire and soon spread to Yorkshire, gentry, clergy, and people joining the Pilgrimage of Grace under Robert Aske, with its banner bearing the Chalice and Host and the five sacred wounds of Christ. Nothing but promises were given to the demands of the rebels; and when, through delay, the enthusiasm waned, the rebellion was put down with great ferocity.

It is more pleasant to turn from these subjects to the translation of the Bible in Henry's reign. In an earlier chapter the work of Wycliffe in this connection has been mentioned, but the reign of Henry VIII was a period of special activity in the translation and publication of the English Bible. Tyndale's New Testament appeared in 1525, of which the revisers of the Bible in 1881 speak in terms of respect; Coverdale's Bible followed in 1535 as "the first printed English Bible"; Matthew's appeared in 1537, being the work of

John Rogers, who was martyred in Mary's reign; Taverner's in 1539, as a revision of Matthew's; whilst in the same year the Great Bible, otherwise known as Cranmer's Bible, was issued (the Bible from which the Psalms in the Prayer Book are taken). Not only was the Bible thus translated, but by an Injunction of 1538 the order was given that a copy of it should be set up in churches for the use of the parishioners; this being followed in 1543 by an order that after the Te Deum and Magnificat, a chapter of the New Testament should be read to the people in English, and when the New Testament was finished, the Old should be begun. The wish of Erasmus was to be fulfilled, "that even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages, so as to be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but even by Saracens and Turks. But the first step to their being read is to make them intelligible to the reader. I long for the day when the husbandman shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, when the weaver shall hum them to the tune of his shuttle, when the traveller shall while away with their stories the weariness of his journey."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these issues of the Bible steps were taken during the reign for the publication of other books intended for the instruction of the

<sup>1</sup> See Green, *op. cit.*, ii. 619-620.

people. The Bishops' Book of 1537, otherwise known as the "Institution of a Christian man," expounded the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ave Maria, the Seven Sacraments, justification and purgatory; whilst the King's Book, also known as the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man," was a revised version of the book just mentioned, largely founded on notes by the king himself. It was less Protestant, and taught Transubstantiation in an unmistakable manner. The Litany, in a form like the present, though containing a few Invocations of Saints, saw the light in 1544, whilst an authorised Primer or book of devotions was published in 1545.

What, then, had been effected by the time of Henry's death? No new Church had been set up, but the usurped power of the Pope over the Church of England had been taken away; the monasteries had been suppressed; and the Bible issued in English. No important doctrinal changes had been made, for the Statute of the Six Articles of 1539 was still in force. Protestants like Frith, Hewett, Lambert, and Barnes were burnt, because they held what the king would have called heretical opinions; and books teaching the doctrines of Luther or Zwingli had been committed to the flames when discovered in England. At the same time there were many in the country, Archbishop Cranmer among the number, who desired things

to be carried further, but while the strong hand of Henry controlled the country no such changes could be made. With the accession of Edward VI we pass from a practical to a doctrinal reformation, carried out to a large extent under Continental influence.

## CHAPTER VIII

### REFORM (*continued*)

(A.D. 1547 TO A.D. 1558 ; EDWARD VI TO ELIZABETH)

EDWARD VI was only nine years of age when he succeeded his father. The strong hand of Henry had been removed, and the rule of the country was in the hands of the Council, led by the king's uncle, Hertford, who took the title of Duke of Somerset and Protector. It has been said of him that in religion he was a Zwinglian, holding the idea that the Holy Communion is nothing but a memorial of the past fact of the death of Christ ; that in his policy he was an Erastian, regarding the Church as the State department for morals, and therefore subject to the State in spiritual as well as temporal matters ; and that in his character he was a thief. Of this last there can be no doubt, Somerset House in the Strand being a sufficient witness, for it occupies the site of a church and some of the bishops' London houses seized by him ; while he even laid his hands on Westminster Abbey, and was only bought off by a large bribe. On the other hand, it is but fair to say that in one important respect he was before

his age, for there was no religious persecution during the time he controlled affairs. Cranmer and others had, for some time, been at work in the preparation of a new service book, and now steps were taken for pushing forward and issuing the Prayer Book in English. Cranmer had already published the English Litany in 1544, and to him is probably due the outstanding beauty of our Liturgy, for he was a master of English prose and of the power of translating Latin into English. A temporary step was taken in 1548 by the issue of the Order of the Communion, which was admittedly a makeshift. Mass was to be continued in Latin, but after the Consecration, and before the communion of the people, this little service—which consisted of an Exhortation, the Confession and Absolution, the Comfortable Words, and the Prayer of Humble Access—was to be inserted in the vulgar tongue. This Order also provided for the restoration to the people of their Communion in both kinds, so that it should no longer be, as in the Middle Ages, a mutilated sacrament that was given to them.

In 1549 appeared the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. This is not the place for a detailed consideration of it or its successors, and their history must be sought in the various histories of the Book of Common Prayer. Here we can only notice its principles. First of all there was translation. The services were no longer to be in Latin, but in the vulgar tongue, and so understandable



by the people. With this goes the principle of publication, for the book was to be within every one's reach. Thirdly, there was to be the principle of simplification. The services were no longer to be in a series of books, Missal, Gradual, Breviary, &c., but bound together in one volume, which was to contain the clergy's and the laity's parts of the services. The many daily offices of the Breviary were compressed into the two, Morning and Evening Prayer, with the intention that these should no longer be merely clerical offices, but attended by the people. The uncertain legends from the lives of the Saints were removed, the lessons being now taken solely from Holy Scripture; the whole Bible was to be read through in order, the Old Testament once every year and the New Testament twice, and the whole of the Psalter was to be recited once a month. It must not be imagined that the book was composed by Cranmer and his colleagues out of their own heads, for there was little new in it; and though the early Liturgies and German books were consulted in its compilation, by far the largest part of it is taken from the mediæval service books of the Church of England. Henceforth there was to be one uniform service throughout the whole land, the Uses of Sarum, York, Hereford, &c., disappearing. Accordingly the first Act of Uniformity was passed with this intention. As the Prayer Book is sometimes referred to as "a Parliamentary

Book," it is well to notice that it received the assent of a majority of the bishops through their votes in the House of Lords, and further appears to have been submitted to and approved by the Lower House of Convocation. The book met with a favourable reception on the whole, though it did not satisfy extreme men or the Council. There were, indeed, insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall, the people demanding the restoration of the Latin services, with infrequent Communion, and speaking of the new book as nothing but a Christmas game. It was after the suppression of this rebellion that Somerset was ousted from the Protectorate in October 1549. He was executed in 1552.

Two changes of great importance were made about this time. The chantry chapels, which had been founded for a specific purpose, that in them mass might be said for the repose of the souls of the departed, were suppressed, and their property alienated from the Church—most of it going to the foundation of grammar schools; while in 1549 the law relating to clerical celibacy was repealed. From 1102 this had been the law in the Church of England, but now the clergy were at liberty to marry openly like other men. Cranmer, it may be noted, was a married man already.

Foreigners like Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and John à Lasco now began to come over to England. They received important appointments in the

Church, and exercised at the same time considerable influence over the primate; whilst Englishmen who were in agreement with the principles of the Continental Reformation began to make themselves heard. Ridley was promoted from Rochester to London, and began to destroy images and stone altars in his diocese; Hooper refused to be consecrated as Bishop of Gloucester in the vestments ordered by the Prayer Book; whilst John Knox, then one of Edward's chaplains, inveighed against the immemorial custom of kneeling at Communion. Already attacks had been made on the candles used at Candlemas, the ashes used on Ash Wednesday, the palms on Palm Sunday, and the service of creeping to the Cross on Good Friday. So, too, priceless examples of Christian art were destroyed all over the country. The changes proposed and carried out by the Council were naturally opposed by the less extreme bishops, some of whom had been appointed in Henry's reign, and had accepted the changes then made, but protested against further alterations. Objections were useless, and bishops like Gardiner, Day, Voysey, Heath, Bonner, and Tunstall were deprived and imprisoned; an example which Mary, in the next reign, was not slow to imitate.

In 1552 the revised Prayer Book, the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, was published. Though the new Act of Uniformity spoke of the previous book as containing "nothing but what was agree-

able to the Word of God and the Primitive Church"—it is noticeable that the standard of the English Reformation was throughout that of the Primitive Church—the alterations made were of great importance, the main purpose of them being to diminish the sacramental reality of the Holy Communion. An Ornaments Rubric was inserted, forbidding the Eucharistic vestments which had been worn all through the Middle Ages, and under the first book, ordering that for the future the priest should wear a surplice only, not a chasuble, and the bishop a rochet, not a cope. The words of administration were altered from the first half to the second half of those now in use. An unsuccessful attempt was made to abolish the ancient custom of kneeling at Communion, and though this failed, a Declaration on Kneeling (the Black Rubric) was inserted in some copies of the book, explaining that by kneeling no adoration was done or meant to be done "unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." The fact that this book was not submitted to Convocation, but issued "against the Archbishop's will and without the consent of the Church,"<sup>1</sup> is a sign of the Erastian manner in which affairs were conducted at this period of our history.

The second Prayer Book did not come into general use throughout the country, for before

<sup>1</sup> Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 85.

many parishes could have received a copy of it Edward was dead, and Mary had been welcomed as queen with great enthusiasm. An attempt to alter the succession, by placing Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, failed miserably, and she and Northumberland, an unscrupulous adventurer, who had succeeded Somerset, paid the penalty with their heads. The government by the Council had, in recent years, been sordid, grasping, and incompetent, and the mass of the nation preferred even papacy to tyranny. The queen's position was well known. As the daughter of Catherine of Aragon it was hardly to be expected that she would look upon the Reformation with any favour, for it had led to her mother's trouble and her own disgrace. It was clear that there would be a Roman reaction, that the clock would be set back. The foreign reformers, such as à Lasco, fled, and with them many Englishmen, to the number of some 800 to 1000, but Cranmer remained steadfast at his post. The papal supremacy was forthwith restored, and Cardinal Pole was sent over to England as legate to effect the desired reconciliation. One thing, however, stood in the way, the fact that many laymen had received a share of the monastic property, and accordingly the price paid by the Pope for the recognition of his jurisdiction was the confirmation to the holders of Church property of their profits from the spoliation of the two previous reigns.



The primate was marked out for severe treatment, and was arrested and sent to the Tower as a traitor. Technically, the charge was true, for he had signed the document which attempted to divert the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey. The queen, however, had no intention of punishing him as a traitor; it was as a heretic that he should suffer, sparing him from execution that he might be burnt. His trials were long and severe; he recanted and he recanted his recantations, and at length bravely suffered martyrdom at Oxford. It is easy to call him weak and vacillating; but only those have a right to do so who would face death at the stake for the truth. Apart from this, the debt which English Churchmen owe him is immense, especially for that Prayer Book which, next to the Bible, has been the main bulwark of Christianity in this country. "For two things Cranmer lived. He lived to restore, as nearly as might be, the Church of the Fathers; and he lived and he died for the rights and the welfare of England. The independence of the English Crown, the freedom of the English Church from an intolerable foreign yoke, an English Bible, the English services—for these he laboured with untiring and unostentatious diligence and with few mistakes, considering the difficulties of his task."<sup>1</sup> He was by no means the only one to suffer. Bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Ferrar met

<sup>1</sup> Mason, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 202.



the same fate, together with some three hundred people in different parts of the country. At whose door shall the blame for the fires at Smithfield be laid? It was not the fault of Bonner of London, whom the Council had to rebuke for his slackness; nor was it due to Gardiner, now released from prison and restored to his see of Winchester, for there were no burnings in his diocese. Recent research shows that the blame must be laid on the shoulders of Pole and Mary, especially the latter. Disappointed of an heir, and so knowing that her sister would succeed her and undo her work, badly treated and deserted by her husband, Philip of Spain, and feeling that her work for Rome was a failure, it is possible that she looked upon God as angry with her, and needing to be placated with sacrifice as a sign of her zeal. Be this as it may, the Marian persecutions made Rome stink in the nostrils of the English people from that time to the present day.

It is important to notice that Pole was not consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury till Cranmer's death. This shows that even Mary and Pole did not regard Cranmer as the first primate of a new Church brought into existence by the Reformation changes in the two previous reigns, for then Pole would have been made Archbishop immediately on his arrival in England, in order that the old Church might be brought back as speedily as possible. Both Mary and Pole were, on the contrary,

clear that there had been no breach of continuity, so they waited till, as Bonner's register puts it, "the said Cranmer was reduced to ashes." Pole's tenure of the post was a short one, the primate and the queen dying within twenty-four hours of each other.

Elizabeth was faced with a difficult task, for there were troubles both in Church and State. A contemporary document sums up the present state of the country as "The queen poor, the realm exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed; want of good captains and soldiers; the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear; excess in meat, drink, and apparel; division among ourselves; wars with France and Scotland; the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland; steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship abroad."<sup>1</sup> In addition to these political troubles, there were grave matters to be settled in the Church. There were in reality three parties in it: the Romanisers, who had accepted the restoration of Papal supremacy in the previous reign and desired things to continue as they were; and on the opposite side, the returned exiles and their friends. We have seen how some 800 to 1000 persons had fled abroad when Mary came to the throne, going to such places as Frankfort-on-the-Main, Basle, Zürich, and Geneva, where they came more than

<sup>1</sup> See Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer Book and Ornaments*, p. 211.

ever under Continental (especially Calvinistic) influence, some of them giving up the use even of the second Prayer Book. The way was now open for them to return to England, and naturally they desired things to be so pushed forward that the Church in England might be brought into line with the foreign reformed Churches. Such were the Puritans, whose history will be traced in the next chapter. Puritanism, says an old writer, "was conceived in the days of Edward VI, born beyond seas at Frankfort-on-the-Main in the days of Queen Mary, nursed and weaned in the days of Elizabeth"; while a modern writer adds, "It was a very lusty and hopeful infant that was brought from the lands of its birth and exile when Elizabeth came to the throne."<sup>1</sup> Between these two parties was the Anglican school, small in numbers but keen on reform, though keen also on the preservation of all that was good in the past, and resolute to avoid a break with the Church of Alfred, of William, and of Edward. To this school the queen herself belonged. The first Act of Parliament of her reign was called "An Act to restore to the Crown its ancient jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters," by which the Crown as "supreme governour" of the Church was given full civil but no spiritual authority over it. An oath of allegiance to the supremacy of the Crown

<sup>1</sup> Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity,"* p. 14.

was to be taken by all clergy; and the Acts of Henry's reign dealing with Annates, Appeals, the submission of the clergy, and Dispensations were revived.

The condition of the episcopate was complicated. Six bishops were dead; nine more died within a few weeks; while of the rest all but two declined to take the Oath of Supremacy, some of them being uncanonical bishops who had been placed in sees during Mary's reign while the rightful holders were still alive. It was necessary, therefore, to man the episcopal bench anew, starting with the archbishopric, for which the selection was in every way excellent. Matthew Parker had not gone abroad with the exiles, but had lived in retirement in England, and was both learned, pious, and cautious. His consecration took place on December 17, 1559, in the chapel at Lambeth Palace, and though its validity has been repeatedly challenged by Roman Catholic controversialists it can, both as regards form, matter, and intention, be triumphantly vindicated; the service being performed by Bishops Barlow, Coverdale, Scory, and Hodgkyns, all of whom joined in the laying on of hands and in the repetition of the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c. The field of selection for the new episcopate was narrow, for spoliation and oppression of the Church under Henry, Edward, and Mary had driven away or killed the most distinguished of our clergy. Some of the returned

exiles, therefore, were promoted ; and though men like Jewell grew out of their continental Calvinism into Anglicanism, there were others who accepted high places in the Church who were not in agreement with either its doctrine or its polity, but hoped to use their positions to bring about alterations.

The Prayer Book was revised once again, for it was clear that neither the first nor the second Books of Edward VI would obtain general approval. The second Book was accordingly taken as the basis of revision, and altered in some few but important details, the Ornaments Rubric being inserted, the Words of Administration assuming their present form through an amalgamation of the words in the two previous books, and the Black Rubric or Declaration on Kneeling being omitted. This Prayer Book was enforced by the Act of Uniformity in 1559, but was never submitted to Convocation, and its ecclesiastical sanction depends on its general acceptance by the clergy. On the other hand, the Thirty-nine Articles, after being elaborately considered, were finally agreed upon by Convocation and the Queen in 1571.

Though the majority of the bishops refused to accept the Prayer Book or to take the Oath of Supremacy, which declared that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power,



superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm," some two hundred only of the clergy adopted the same attitude, and even they did not at first make any formal separation from the Church. That, however, followed, when Pius V issued his Bull "Regnans in Excelsis" in 1570, in which the queen was declared deposed from her throne, and her subjects called upon "never to venture to obey her monitions, mandates, and laws" under pain of anathema. Schism was now made, altar being set up against altar, and the first formal breach took place in the unity of the National Church. Seminary priests and Jesuits began to enter England, not only to minister to their own adherents, but to carry on active mission work; there were many plots to place Mary of Scots, who was an ardent Papist, upon the throne; while, at length, Spain sent out its great Armada to bring England and its Church to the dust. With its failure the danger of the Roman attack passed away, but the Church had still to make its position plain against the Puritans, for until this was done it could not be said that the Reformation was really at an end.



## CHAPTER IX

### CONTROVERSY

(A.D. 1558 TO A.D. 1660 ; ELIZABETH TO CHARLES II)

THE struggle between the Church and the Puritans lasted for more than a century, so that it is incorrect to speak of the English Reformation as ended until the restoration of Church and State in 1661. To understand the Puritan position in England we must be clear as to the position of Calvin at Geneva, for he was the fountain-head of Puritanism. Three points are of importance—his doctrine, his Church organisation, and his discipline. By his doctrine of predestination he asserted that “we are not all of us born in the same condition, but for some eternal life, for others eternal death is foreordained,”<sup>1</sup> and he consequently denied that Christ died to save all men, maintaining that His death avails only for those who have been, from all eternity, predestined to eternal happiness; in short, that He died to save some men, and not all men, as the Church had always believed. By his Church organisation

<sup>1</sup> Aubrey Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 511, quoting Calvin's *Inst.*, III., c. xxi., § 5.

he rejected episcopacy, holding that the two orders of presbyters and elders were sufficient. His discipline placed almost unlimited power in the hands of the presbyters. "The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism," it has been said, "excluded all toleration of practice or belief."<sup>1</sup>

The English Puritans were not, in the early part of their history, dissenters from the Church, but were a party in the Church, of radical views, desiring the Reformation pushed to further extremes, dissatisfied with what had so far been done, and maintaining that the great thing required was that the English Church should be brought into complete identity with the foreign reformed Churches, both as regards doctrine, organisation, and discipline. The controversy broke out early in Elizabeth's reign on a question of ceremonial, the Puritans taking up the position that nothing which has not the direct warrant of Holy Scripture ought to be employed in Divine service. Ceremonial was in a state of chaos, as is shown by a document dated February 1565, and apparently in Grindal's writing, which tells us that "some say the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say in a sur-

<sup>1</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 955.

plice, others without a surplice ; the table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel ; in some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall a yard, in some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south ; in some places the table is joined, in others it standeth upon tressels ; in some places the table hath a carpet, in others it hath not ; administration of the Communion is done by some with surplice and cap, some with surplice only, others with none ; some with chalice, others with a Communion cup, others with a common cup ; some with unleavened bread, some with leavened ; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting ; some baptize in a font, some in a basin ; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not ; apparel—some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat.”

As an attempt to secure some measure of uniformity, Archbishop Parker, in 1566, issued the Advertisements, in which a certain minimum of observance was required, viz. the surplice and square cap, both most obnoxious to the Puritans. The so-called Vestiarian controversy which followed was in form a controversy on ceremonial. In reality it was much more, and the Puritans soon proceeded to fight for the establishment of the whole of Calvin's doctrinal and disciplinary system. Behind everything was the question

whether the religious life of England should be expressed by the old historic Church, reformed and purified, or by a new Church similar to that set up at Geneva by Calvin. This was the true issue raised by the Puritans under the leadership of men like the learned though bigoted Cartwright. "Either must we have a right ministry of God, and a right government of His Church, according to the Scriptures, set up (both which we lack), or else there can be no right religion." "We in England are so far off from having a Church rightly reformed, according to the precept of God's Word, that as yet we are scarce come to the outward face of the same." Such is the language of the Puritan Admonition to Parliament.

For some years the Puritan agitation within the Church continued to increase. A system of "prophesyings" grew up, consisting of meetings attended by the clergy and laity for the reading and exposition of the Bible, and for the development of the spiritual life. In some cases they seem to have been carried further, and were used for purposes of public as well as private discipline. Some of the bishops, especially Archbishop Grindal, highly approved of the meetings, but they were suppressed by the queen. If the prophesyings were harmless, the same cannot be said of the use made of the press, from which issued a series of papers known as the Martin Marprelate tracts.

These were aimed at the episcopate. The Archbishop is the Beelzebub of Canterbury, the Pope of Lambeth, the Canterbury Caiaphas, and worse, while the bishops are proud, popish, profane, presumptuous, paltry, pernicious prelates. The tracts were part of the general attack on episcopacy which took many forms. Thus at Cuckfield in Suffolk an experiment was tried by which the Church, while nominally remaining episcopal, should really become Presbyterian. Clergy were to place themselves under the control of the Presbyterian "classes" for purposes of discipline. They were to hire other people to read the service, so as to conform with the law, while they themselves entered for the sermon only. No one was to offer himself for the ministry, but wait till the call reached him from some "classis," and then he was to impart the news to the classis or conference of which he was a member, and if approved by that body be commended to the bishop for ordination, which was regarded as a merely technical and legal requirement of no importance. This system spread over a considerable part of the Midlands, but its success was not so great as that of the Puritan attempt to teach the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. The Church was, indeed, nearly committed to the teaching that Christ did not die to save all men. Whitgift, who was now the primate, was a strong disciplinarian, who imagined that unity might be



gained by compromise, and, under his guidance, the Lambeth Articles were drawn up in 1595, the first of which said that "God hath from eternity predestinated certain persons to life, and hath reprobated certain persons unto death." Fortunately the queen was against such teaching, and the Articles, which had no official authority, being but the fruits of a private conference, were dropped.

It must not be thought that the Church had no reply to make to the Puritan propaganda. Its doctrinal position was, in part, laid down in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of 1571. These, which were chiefly concerned with the Lutheran and Roman positions, were made as broad and comprehensive as possible. Indeed, it has been said of them that they "appear to have been intended not as definite solutions but rather as 'articles of peace'; they aim at shelving rather than defining questions."<sup>1</sup> For more direct contributions to the Puritan controversy, recourse must be had to such works as Whitgift's reply to Cartwright and the writings in support of episcopacy produced by such men as Bilson and Bancroft. Most important of all, however, is the work of Richard Hooker. As Master of the Temple he was in the thick of the fight, for the Reader of the Temple was the Puritan Travers, and, as an old writer, Fuller, puts it, "the pulpit

<sup>1</sup> Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, p. 49.



spake pure Canterbury in the morning, and Geneva in the afternoon." Hooker retired from this position, and at the parsonage of Bishopsbourne in Kent, he completed his great book, the classical work of English theology, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in reply to the Puritan campaign. He did far more than make an attack on their position, for he not only showed that their contentions were wrong, but proved why they were wrong, laying down the great principles on which the Church and her system are built. Her foundation is a triple one, Scripture, History, and Reason. She appeals to the Bible, but appeals also to the history of the Church in past ages, while at the same time she allows men to think for themselves.

When James I came to the throne in 1603 the Puritans believed that their hour of triumph had arrived, for the King had been brought up in Scotland, where the Calvinistic system had been fully set up. They therefore presented him with the so-called Millenary Petition, praying that it should not be compulsory to wear the surplice, asking for the abolition of the word "priest," of bowing at the name of Jesus, of the sign of the cross in baptism, of kneeling at communion, &c. The king met the petition fairly enough. He summoned a conference of Churchmen at Hampton Court, including four of the leading Puritans. It then appeared that the Puritans only cared for these questions of ritual and ceremony as symbols.

Their real demand was for an alteration of the Articles so as to make the doctrines of Calvinistic predestination part of the teaching of the Church. This proposal was necessarily rejected, and with it went the lesser demands for ceremonial change. Positive work, however, was done, for the last part of the Catechism was now added to the Prayer Book, and a committee was formed for the revision of the Bible, resulting in the issue of the Authorised Version in 1611.

All through the reign of James the Church maintained its Anglican position. Overall, the author of that part of the Church Catechism which refers to the Sacraments, was hard at work, Laud was coming to the front, while the saintly Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Chichester, was at the height of his power.

When Charles I succeeded his father in 1625, the country was still divided into its two parties, and until the Restoration settlement the conflict between them raged. The king was a thorough Churchman, with the result that the Church party became more and more the royal party, while the Puritans allied themselves increasingly with the Parliamentary party, the Church sharing in the unpopularity of the king. His chief ecclesiastical adviser was William Laud, who rose step by step to the archbishopric. Laud was deeply hated, and his unpopularity was due partly to his faults of manner and temper, but even more to his own uncom-

promising attitude on political as well as ecclesiastical questions. A vehement upholder of the divine right of kings, and an equally vehement opponent of the whole doctrinal and disciplinary system of Calvinism, he was detested not less by the lovers of liberty than by the enemies of episcopacy. His arm reached everywhere and roused hatred in the upper classes, whom he punished for immorality or breaches of Church discipline as freely as more lowly offenders, whilst he was intensely hated for his work in the Star Chamber. The epigram is, no doubt, true that he "was too much of a father-in-law, and not enough of a father in God." But Churchmen will always remember with gratitude that, at a very critical period in her history, Laud maintained our Church's essential position as a true part of the universal Church, free alike from the tyranny of Rome and the errors of Geneva.

It was very largely the action of Laud and Charles in Scotland that made the breach between the king and Parliament irremediable. The attempt to restore the Episcopal Church to Scotland culminated in 1637, when the Scots Prayer Book was issued. It was based on the English Book, but modelled to a large extent by Wedderburn, the Bishop of Dunblane, and, as is well known, when first used there was a brawl at St. Giles', Edinburgh. The country was soon up in arms, and in 1638 the National Covenant was subscribed with enthusiasm all over Scotland.

The Long Parliament met in 1640, and in 1642 the Civil War commenced. For a time Parliament seemed content to preserve episcopacy while diminishing the power of the bishops. But when the assistance of the Scottish arms seemed necessary to save the Parliamentary cause, the Commons as the price of that assistance agreed that England should accept the Solemn League and Covenant, which involved the establishment of Presbyterianism. By its second clause it was provided: "We shall, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical offices depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness." The day of triumph for Puritanism had come. The bishops were arrested, deprived of their sees, and imprisoned, one of them, Wren of Ely, remaining in prison no fewer than nineteen years. Laud, the arch enemy, was, after three years' imprisonment, brought to trial in 1644. Day by day, with wonderful firmness and patience, did he answer the charges brought against him. But the result was a foregone conclusion, and at length, on January 10, 1645, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Four years later, on January 30, 1649, the king was executed, remaining to the end loyal to the

Church, though it is possible that he might have saved himself if he would have consented to the establishment of Presbyterianism as the religion of England, *i.e.* by agreeing to the destruction of the English Church. "No bishop, no king," was now proved to be a true saying.

In the meanwhile the Westminster Assembly of English and Scottish divines had been sitting to carry into effect the Solemn League and Covenant. The Directory, as the new service book was called, was substituted by Parliament for the Prayer Book, the use of the latter being made illegal, with a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third, so that from 1645 to 1661 "it was," as Macaulay says, "a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians." Yet during all these dark days many of the clergy continued its use when and where possible, as the pages of Evelyn's *Diary* bear witness; and though there seemed no future for the Church, men were still willing to offer themselves for Holy Orders, ordinations with the Prayer Book service being held in more than one place. The Westminster Confession of Faith, a definitely Calvinistic document, took the place of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and the Westminster Catechism that of the Prayer Book Catechism. Now began a period of great suffering



for the clergy, produced by anarchy under the Presbyterians till 1653, and tyranny under the Independents from then till the Restoration. Not only were cathedrals and parish churches mutilated and defaced, but at the lowest computation some 3500 of the parochial clergy were deprived of their livings on one pretext or another, and though at first promised a fifth of their income, it was only on rare occasions that they were able to obtain any of it. The parish churches were seized by the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, &c., with no episcopal ordination, and in many cases with no ordination at all. Fonts were smashed, and the Sacrament of Baptism rarely administered; marriage became a civil rite before the magistrate (*e.g.* the Parish Registers of St. Mary's, Launceston, say: "Hereafter follow marriages by laymen, according to the profaneness and giddiness of the times, without precedent or example of any Christian kingdom or commonwealth from the birth of Christ unto this very year 1655"); there was practically no service at all at the burial of the dead. It is noticeable that when Cromwell and the Independents obtained the supreme power in the State, while in theory all could worship God as they liked, it was "provided that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy." An order was even issued by the Protector that no ejected clergyman was for the future to be



allowed to act either as chaplain or tutor in a private family. Evelyn sums up the situation when he says, "The Church now in dens and caves of the earth"; "The Church reduced to a chamber and conventicle."

Fortunately this state of affairs was not to last long, for Englishmen had now discovered that there is no tyranny like a military tyranny, and that "new presbyter is but old priest writ large." When the King came back to his own again no Act of Parliament was necessary to restore the Church, for in the eyes of the law all that had been done in recent years was null and void; and as Charles II returned to what was rightfully his in the twelfth year of his reign, so the Church came back to what was rightfully hers in the sixteenth of her suppression. The bishops—nine of whom were still alive—came out of their retirement, and others were consecrated to fill the vacant sees; the ejected clergy were restored to their benefices, Parliament assuring to them their rights: the words of the Liturgy began once more to be heard in the churches. But there were still certain problems requiring solution, especially the question what was to be the position of the Puritans in the future? Were they still to remain in the English Church, or to develop their principles by means of voluntary societies? The practical difficulties were great, but the principle was clear. Only those who accepted the funda-

mental doctrines of the Church could remain within its fold. A scheme of comprehension that would have included those who rejected the Sacraments or upheld predestination would have reduced the Church to nothing but a conglomeration of sects.

## CHAPTER X

### RESTORATION

(A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1714; CHARLES II TO GEORGE I)

It was hardly to be expected that the Puritans would yield without a struggle, and be content with mere toleration after having possessed and wielded supremacy. There had been no desire on their part that the Church should be on a basis broad enough to contain themselves and others holding different views. On the contrary, during the time of their power they had persecuted churchpeople on the ground that the principles of Anglicanism and Presbyterianism or Independency were incompatible. It was quite clear that their time of supremacy was now at an end; but they might still hope for toleration. When the Lords and Commons and City of London sent a deputation to the king in Holland to express their loyalty, eight Presbyterian divines who went with them obtained from him the famous "Declaration of Breda," in which he declared "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion." But this toleration was only

to be extended to such opinions as did not "disturb the peace of the kingdom," and even so was not an absolute pledge by the king himself, but a statement that "we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as shall be offered to us for the full granting of such indulgence." At a later interview the Puritans increased their demands. They asked that neither the hated surplice, nor the Prayer Book, should be restored, even in the king's chapel, and well deserved the rebuke they received, that "since he gave them their liberty, he should by no means resign his own; that he had always used that form of service, which he considered to be the best in the world, and that he would have no other."

In fulfilment of his undertaking the king summoned the Savoy Conference in 1661, consisting of twelve bishops and twelve Puritan ministers, including Richard Baxter. Baxter produced a new service book which he desired to substitute for the Prayer Book. Others objected to the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, the surplice, the declaration at baptism that the child is regenerate, the observance of Saints' days, the use of the Apocrypha, the word "priest," the use of collects, kneeling at Communion, and the like. Some of these were small matters on which the restored Church could have afforded to be generous, but others showed that on the crucial doctrines about the Sacraments and the Atonement there was an irreconcilable

difference of principle between the two systems. The Conference therefore proved fruitless. Convocation next took up the final revision of the Prayer Book. An immense number of minor alterations were made, together with some of greater importance and of an anti-Puritan tendency, while one of them deserves special mention. A service for the baptism of adults was composed and added to the Prayer Book, not only for use in the Plantations, but because of the general disuse of the Sacrament during the Commonwealth period. Fonts, as we have seen, had been smashed, and a generation of people had grown up unbaptized through no fault of their own; thus we find in the parish register of Aylesford, Kent, in 1662, this entry: "The first to be baptized in the new font, after the iniquities of the times had broken down the old one." This revision was entirely the work of Convocation, and the Book, as altered, was sent by Convocation to Charles II, and by him, exactly as he received it, to Parliament, with the recommendation that it should be used in all the churches of the country. "Not one word of it was changed," says Lord Chancellor Selborne, "during its passage through Parliament, except two or three clerical errors of the transcriber, which, when discovered, were corrected by certain bishops, specially deputed by Convocation for that purpose; while the Commons asserted their right to amend the Book, but

resolved by a majority of ninety-six to ninety not to exercise their right."

The Prayer Book was accordingly annexed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and all clergy were required to assent to it, and if they had not been episcopally ordained to seek ordination by St. Bartholomew's Day in that year. It is not to be wondered at that the Puritans regarded the Act as a breach of the Declaration of Breda; and all that can be said for Charles II is that he did his best to obtain a more conciliatory settlement. But the House of Commons, which was the people's house in a special manner (vastly different from the Barebone's Parliament, which had rejoiced that the common people of England had no voice in its election), made the Act far more stringent than was desired either by the king or the Lords. "Its members represented the democracy, the common folk, of all England as no Parliament had done since the successive military and sectarian purges of the Long Parliament had enabled a tyrannical minority to establish themselves and their private and sectarian interests under the venerable name of the Commonwealth."<sup>1</sup> Such a Parliament accurately reflected the irritation of the people at the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Commonwealth, and they had little pity for those ministers, however personally pious, who had ousted the old incumbent.

<sup>1</sup> Hancock, *The Act of Uniformity*, pp. 20-21.



In the result some 1400 to 1600 ministers refused to conform to the Act, but it is not fair to say that these persons were turned out unconditionally. The public preachers then in possession of livings were at liberty to remain, or if the old incumbent were alive, to receive another appointment, provided that they would comply with the Act. As we know, many refused and were expelled. Such persons, had they remained, would have been in an absolutely false position, holding office in a Church with whose organisation, ceremonial, and, above all, doctrine, they totally disagreed. They did the right and honourable thing in leaving, but their leaving cannot rightly be ascribed to an act of persecution. Far more generous treatment was meted out to them than their co-religionists had meted out to others, for their public position only was affected, while Cromwell had not only ejected the clergy from their livings, but had forbidden them to act as chaplains or tutors in private families. After all, the historic rule of the Church of England on this matter was perfectly clear, as may be seen in the preface to the Ordinal: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverent Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were

first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly episcopal Consecration or Ordination." Unless Convocation and the Restoration Parliament had been willing to abandon the principle thus laid down, it is difficult to see how the Puritan ministers could have retained their livings.

Undoubtedly, the State was intolerant after the Restoration, and the reason is not far to seek, for it was due to the dread of interference with the State on the part of men who disagreed with the Church. Puritans had not tolerated churchmen in the past because they feared that a churchman must, of necessity, be a supporter of the monarchy; and in the same way, the Royalist Parliament considered that every Puritan must be an opponent of the restored monarchy, and accordingly refused him toleration. It was only as the State (to use Bishop Creighton's words) "became conscious that

there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognised by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organisation,"<sup>1</sup> that disabilities were removed; until at the present time full and complete civil and religious freedom is granted to all people of every shade of religious conviction. But in the seventeenth century nobody would have thought such a state of things safe. Accordingly, by the Corporation Act of 1661, aimed at the towns and boroughs as strongholds of Puritan views, all members of corporations were required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to swear that it was unlawful, under any pretence, to bear arms against the king, to swear that the Solemn League and Covenant was unlawful, and to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England within one year, in order to qualify for any municipal office. Three years later came the Conventicle Act, and in the following year the Five Mile Act, the former imposing a fine of £5 on all persons over sixteen years of age who attended conventicles, a conventicle being defined as an assembly of five or more persons in a private home for worship; while the latter imposed a fine of £40 on Nonconformist ministers who came within five

<sup>1</sup> *Persecution and Tolerance*, p. 3.

miles of any town in which they had formerly ministered.

Charles II was still ready to grant toleration, owing, no doubt, chiefly to his leanings towards Romanism, and accordingly in 1672 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended all penal laws against Dissenters, permitting Protestants to meet publicly and Romanists privately, but Parliament demanded its withdrawal as illegal, and the king was compelled to give way. The growing fear of a renewal of papal influence led to the passing of the Test Act in the following year, which enacted that for the future none should be admitted to any public office or position unless he took the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and abjured the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In both these questions the Nonconformists were on the side of intolerance, preferring even the continuance of their own disabilities to toleration for the Roman Catholics. The anti-Romanist feeling ran high; plots and counter-plots were discovered or manufactured; and attempts made to pass a Bill for the exclusion of the king's brother, the Duke of York, from the succession, on the ground that he was a professed Papist. With public opinion in this condition, it was clearly impossible for any measure of toleration to become law.

The reign of James II was to pass before such

toleration could be given. As a Roman Catholic he refused to communicate at his coronation, and soon began to assist the Romanist propaganda. He attempted to dispense with the conditions of the Test Act by appointing Roman Catholics to positions in the army; allowed the Chapels Royal to be used for Roman Catholic services; and permitted various religious orders to be established in London. The Court of High Commission was revived, and Compton, the Bishop of London, was suspended for refusing to censure one of his clergy who had preached an anti-Romanist sermon; while an attempt was made to Romanise Oxford by appointing Papists to the presidency and fellowships of Magdalen College. The king then went further, and as his brother had issued a Declaration of Indulgence, he proceeded to do the same in 1687; granting liberty of conscience to all Dissenters by the abolition of all tests, oaths, and penalties. After expressing his wish that all his subjects might be of the same mind in religion, he declared that "we therefore have thought fit to issue this, our Declaration of Indulgence, by virtue of our Royal Prerogative, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament when we think it convenient for them to meet." The Declaration was received with profound distrust by the majority of the nation, men realising that it was an attempt to gain the support of the Dissenters, and to combine them with the



Romanists against the National Church. It was accordingly strongly disapproved by the Non-conformists, who, much as they desired toleration for themselves, were not prepared to see it illegally extended to Roman Catholics, believing, perhaps rightly, that such a measure would be but the prelude to the legal domination of Romanism. Then the king went one step, and for him a fatal step, further, by calling upon the clergy to read the Indulgence in all churches and chapels on a given Sunday.

Six bishops with six divines met the Archbishop at Lambeth, where it was decided to petition the king, stating the grounds of their refusal to read the Declaration. They based their decision, not on "any want of tenderness towards Dissenters," but on the ground that it is "founded on such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in Church and State, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, must amount to in common and reasonable construction." This petition was signed by Sancroft, the Primate, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely



Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, and it is evident that the whole body of the clergy were behind the bishops. The Declaration does not appear to have been read in more than thirty churches. In London the number was only four, and though Westminster Abbey was one of these, when the Dean began to read the people began to go out, the choir and the Westminster boys alone remaining. James was furious, and proceeded to take steps against the bishops, prosecuting them for the issue of "a treasonable and malicious libel" against himself, and committing them to the Tower. In due course the trial took place, and on June 30, 1687, they were acquitted, the popularity of the verdict being shown by the enthusiasm of the people, who regarded them as the champions of liberty for Englishmen and their Church. "The bishops have saved England" was the popular cry, and when it was taken up by the army at Hounslow, its significance was not lost upon the king. The Church was against him, he had failed to gain the Nonconformists, Parliament, at first enthusiastically loyal, had been driven into opposition, and now the army was prepared to forsake him. Accordingly he tried to make terms, dissolving the Court of High Commission, and reinstating the President and Fellows of Magdalen; but it was too late, for already William of Orange had been invited and

was on his way to England. James fled, and the Revolution of 1689 took place.

William III was pledged to toleration, with the result that the Toleration Act of 1689 was passed, freeing from all restrictions of worship Protestant Dissenters who did not deny, either by word or in writing, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as declared in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, provided that the doors of their meeting-houses were unlocked during service time. If establishment consists of "toleration, recognition, protection, legislation, supervision, and control,"<sup>1</sup> the bodies separated from the National Church may truly be said to have become established by this Act of Parliament.

A much less satisfactory result of the Revolution was the schism of the Nonjurors. When the new Oath of Allegiance was drawn up, Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Ken, Lake, Turner, and White of the famous seven bishops, together with some 400 clergymen, including William Law, and certain laymen like the devotional writer Robert Nelson, found themselves unable, for conscience sake, to take it. To do so seemed to them inconsistent with the oath they had taken to James, and also an infringement of that duty of unquestioning or passive obedience to any rightful king, however bad, which many of the clergy had been for years past preaching. Their position is clearly

<sup>1</sup> Helm, *Establishment*, p. 10.

expressed in the dying confession of Bishop Lake : " Whereas that religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England, I adhere firmly and steadfastly to it, and, in consequence of it, have incurred a suspension from the exercise of my office, and expected a deprivation." It was clearly a case for gentle and considerate treatment, since the Nonjurors were perfectly loyal to William and Mary in fact. They were, however, ejected, and the schism thus made lasted till the early part of the nineteenth century, for, unfortunately, a section of the seceders insisted on consecrating bishops and ordaining priests to keep alive what they regarded as the true branch of the English Church. Some of the very best blood in the Church was lost by the deprivation of such men as Archbishop Sancroft and the saintly Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. It was partly in consequence of this schism that the Church was left to the Whigs and the Latitudinarians who so largely controlled its affairs in the next century.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century also took place the foundation of societies for the improvement of morals. The most important of these, from a Church point of view, was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge,

founded in 1698, which from the very first did a great work in connection with education and missions. Dr. Bray, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing this Society into existence, visited the North American Plantations in the following year, and by his exertions a new Society was founded in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which received considerable assistance from the parent body, the S.P.C.K. We have already noticed the missionary work of the English Church in early days, especially in the conversion of Germany; in the eleventh century Norway had received missionaries from England, while as late as the thirteenth century Henry the Englishman had become the Apostle of Finland. Now, through the colonisation of New England, the Church was called on to enter upon a new field of missionary activity. The Rev. Robert Hunt, Vicar of Reculver, Kent, had already gone to Jamestown, Virginia, at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and by the foundation of these societies the Church was enabled, not only to minister to colonists, but to reach the natives in America. Unfortunately, it was not till 1784 that Seabury was consecrated by Scottish bishops as the first bishop for America, which till then remained in the diocese of London.

When the eighteenth century began the Church was showing in many ways evidence of real spiritual life. Societies like those just mentioned

were at work; schools were being opened in many places; the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy was started to relieve clerical poverty; new churches were being built under an Act of Parliament; while Queen Anne renounced the first-fruits and tenths of livings, which, from the passing of the Annates Act in the reign of Henry VIII, had gone to the Crown instead of the Pope. Queen Anne's Bounty thus came into existence in 1704, the moneys no longer forming part of the income of the sovereign, but being applied to the increase of the value of poor benefices. While Anne reigned there was vigorous Church life, but with the accession of George I a change for the worse was, unfortunately, to take place.

## CHAPTER XI

### TORPOR

(A.D. 1714 TO A.D. 1800 ; GEORGE I TO GEORGE III).

FOR two centuries the country had been torn by religious controversy and excitement ; a succeeding period of repose, if not torpor, was inevitable. From 1714 to the end of the eighteenth century has rightly been described as "the Glacial Epoch in our Church History." The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell in 1709, for a political sermon, gave rise to a somewhat belated outburst of Church feeling, which died away with Queen Anne, and was followed by a lengthy and profound reaction. Puritan enthusiasm had been expelled from the Church, and High Church enthusiasm had gone out with the Nonjurors ; the Whigs were in power from 1714 to 1760, and the persons appointed to high offices in the Church were exclusively of the Latitudinarian type, men of intellectual power, indeed, but utterly distrustful of emotion and enthusiasm. Walpole was at the head of affairs, and applied his favourite motto, *Quieta non movere*, to ecclesiastical as well as to civil affairs.

In 1717 Convocation was silenced for attacking



a book by Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, and transacted no further business till 1852. The usual royal letter or licence, authorising the two Houses of Convocation to proceed to business, was withheld, and so, while the Convocation continued to assemble as usual at the beginning of each Parliament, its session was purely formal.

This fact is of great importance for the understanding of the history of the Church in the eighteenth century. It was no longer able to speak for itself; it could not even discuss, leave alone settle, its own affairs. The management of its business passed entirely into the hands of Parliament, which legislated for it without the authorities of the Church having any opportunity of expressing their opinions, except so far as the bishops spoke for it in the House of Lords. Nor could the bishops say much for the Church, since they were out of touch with the feelings of ordinary churchpeople. Walpole looked upon clerical preferment as a valuable means of establishing his own power. Bishoprics were, therefore, commonly given as rewards for political services already rendered, or to be rendered in the future, and almost solely to men of one type of churchmanship and politics. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke "thought it his duty to dispose of the ecclesiastical preferments in his gift with a view to increase his own political influence, without any scrupulous regard for the interests

of religion, and without the slightest respect for scientific or literary merit";<sup>1</sup> while so late as 1775 Dr. Johnson asserted, though with some exaggeration, that "no man can now be made a bishop for his learning and piety; his only chance for promotion is his being connected with someone who has parliamentary interest."<sup>2</sup> Horace Walpole accurately described the condition of affairs when he said that "the Church was moderate, and, when the ministry required it, yielding."

One result was the decay of episcopal work and oversight. Hoadly, the Bishop of Bangor, never once entered his diocese during his six years' tenure of that see. Watson, the Bishop of Llandaff, lived on the banks of Lake Windermere, and there spent his time "planting trees, building farmhouses, reclaiming wastes, blasting rocks (he was very much interested in explosives), recovering his health, preserving his independence, setting an example of spirited industry to the county, and honourably providing for his family."<sup>3</sup> He acknowledged, we may note in passing, that he received his bishopric because "I was a warm, and might become a useful, partisan." Pluralism was rampant. Even Bishop Butler held a canonry at Rochester, and the rich living of Stanhope, with his Bishopric of Bristol; while Watson, referred

<sup>1</sup> Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Life* (Napier Edition), ii. 322.

<sup>3</sup> Overton and Relton, *A History of the English Church, 1714-1800*, p. 261.

to above, held two livings in Shropshire, two in Leicestershire, three in Huntingdonshire, and two in the Isle of Ely, as well as the Bishopric of Llandaff. With such an example set by the bishops, one is not surprised to find that there was a large amount of pluralism, and consequently of absenteeism, among the beneficed clergy; incumbents leaving their many livings to be served by ill-paid curates, in whose ranks there was considerable poverty, the gulf between themselves and the higher clergy being exceedingly wide. Thomas Stackhouse, who was a curate until he reached the age of fifty-six, wrote, in his *Miseries and Great Hardships of the Inferior Clergy in and about London*, that curates' "salaries were often less than the sexton's, and not so punctually paid; that the rectors made jests upon their poverty; that the common fee for a sermon was a shilling and a dinner, for reading prayers twopence and a cup of coffee."<sup>1</sup> Naturally, too, there was considerable nepotism, which passed uncensured. Thus Jeremiah Miller profited by becoming the son-in-law of Bishop Potter, for he obtained "from the Crown the united rectories of St. Edmund the King and St. Nicholas Acon in Lombard Street, with that of Merstham, Surrey, and the sinecure of West Tarring in Sussex. From the chantorship of Exeter he was promoted to the

<sup>1</sup> Overton and Relton, *A History of the English Church, 1714-1800*, p. 273.

deanery of that cathedral. All these preferments he held till his death, except that of West Tarring, which he resigned a few years before to his son.”<sup>1</sup> Little attempt was made to carry out the plain directions of the Prayer Book. The Holy Table was small and almost invisible, the huge pulpit or three-decker dominating everything in the church, while comfortable family pews took the place of open seats, and the poor were driven into the aisles or back parts of the building. The chief idea of church attendance was to listen to and gain benefit from the lengthy sermon, timed by the hour-glass, rather than to offer worship to God; while the preaching was largely concerned with plain duty and morality, rather than with the doctrines of the Christian religion. When the famous lawyer, Sir W. Blackstone, went to hear every clergyman of note in London about the middle of the century, his comment was that “he did not hear a single discourse having more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible for him to discover from what he heard whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ.”<sup>2</sup> The services were conducted in a most slovenly manner, tending to become nothing but a duet between the parson and the parish clerk, and naturally attendance diminished, while the

<sup>1</sup> Overton and Relton, *A History of the English Church, 1714-1800*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> See Carter, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 51.

conduct of those who did come was irreverent. The daily services were given up, and even the Sunday services were not held regularly. In Essex in 1763 "only 102 of the 310 churches were even supposed to have two services on a Sunday, and some had only one service a fortnight, and some only one a month. Only twenty parishes had a monthly Communion; in the majority there were three or four administrations a year, and two had none at all. Only five parishes in the county had any week-day service."<sup>1</sup> The Holy Communion, as this extract shows, was but rarely celebrated, three or four times a year being the average. One can often buy an old Prayer Book of the period in which the latter portion of the service is printed in the smallest type available, being evidently regarded as one of the "occasional offices" of the Church; and when Bishop Secker addressed his clergy of Oxford diocese in 1741 he had to plead that "a sacrament might easily be interposed in that long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas." Perhaps the lowest depths were reached when Tomline, who was Dean of St. Paul's as well as Bishop of Lincoln, lamented that in St. Paul's Cathedral on Easter Day 1800 "in that vast and noble Cathedral no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord."<sup>2</sup> The Festivals and Fasts of the

<sup>1</sup> Balleine, *History of the Evangelical Party*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.



Church's year were disregarded, Bishop Horsley complaining that "there can be no excuse for the neglect of the Feast of our Lord's Nativity, and the stated Fasts of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, even in the smallest country parishes; but in towns and the more populous villages the church ought certainly to be opened for worship on the forenoon at least of every day in Passion Week, on the Mondays and Tuesdays in Easter Week and Whitsuntide, on the Epiphany, and on some, if not all, of the other Festivals."<sup>1</sup>

In short, the accepted standard of clerical duty was almost incredibly low. In too many cases the clergy were ministering in churches which were often in a bad state of repair, the people caring little, for they were but seldom in them. The services were usually few, owing largely to the existence of pluralities and the necessity of curates serving more than one parish in order to make a living wage. What are now the ordinary organisations of a parish were not in existence; in many cases there was practically no pastoral visitation; and catechising of children, servants, and apprentices on Sunday afternoon, as ordered by the Prayer Book, had become very much neglected. Home missionary work was unknown; while there was but little zeal or enthusiasm for foreign missions. The clergyman's parish work, even when he did it, consisted,

<sup>1</sup> See Overton and Relton, *op. cit.*, p. 296.



generally speaking, of not much more than reading the services and preaching on Sundays. In short, the Church as a whole was mechanical and lifeless; it had reached "a level of uniform dullness."

It was, no doubt, due partly to the Church's failures that the people disregarded the Church, and not only the Church but religion altogether. In his charge of the year 1738 Bishop Secker complained that "Christianity is now railed at and ridiculed with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all. Against us our adversaries appear to have set themselves to be as bitter as they can, not only beyond all truth, but beyond all probability, exaggerating without mercy;"<sup>1</sup> while Bishop Butler, who certainly weighed his words, felt compelled to write in 1736, in the Advertisement to his *Analogy*, that "it is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly, they treat it, as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained, but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." One is not surprised that he declined the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747 on the ground that it was

<sup>1</sup> Overton and Relton, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

“too late for him to try to support a falling Church.”

With this neglect of religion there naturally went hand in hand a serious weakening of morals. The stage was licentious, much of the literature of the time was impure, while the cruelty of the criminal law was terrible, for death was the penalty for no less than a hundred and sixty crimes. The popular amusements were coarse—prize-fighting, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting—while, above all, drunkenness was the besetting sin of the nation, from the rich and educated “three-bottle men” to the poor, for whose benefit ran such announcements as, “Drunk for 1d., dead drunk for 2d., clean straw for nothing.”

There is, however, another side to the history of the eighteenth century. In some parishes the old Church spirit of the end of the seventeenth century still remained, and indeed the great bulk of the clergy lived respectable and benevolent lives in spite of their remissness in their strictly clerical duties. In one department of religious life, too, the Church was doing an excellent work. The parish was indeed too often neglected, but not the study, for theological book followed theological book, many of them of real value. Scholars were sadly needed, for the Church had to face great controversies conducted by able opponents—controversies going to the very root of things, and centring round the nature of the

Church, the Person of Christ, and the whole subject of Revelation. Three of these controversies need a word of explanation. The first in time was that known as the Bangorian controversy, which led to the suppression of Convocation in 1717, and so named because it was raised by Benjamin Hoadly, who, on the accession of George I, was made Bishop of Bangor. He had become notorious in the previous year through the publication of a book entitled *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors*, while in 1717 he preached a sermon at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on the "Nature of the Kingdom or the Church of Christ." In his book he argued that it was not necessary to be in communion with any visible Church, nothing but sincerity being required in a Christian; whilst in his sermon he maintained that Christ did not found a visible Church at all. The Lower House of Convocation appointed a committee to examine and report on the matter, and the report condemned both book and sermon, and called upon the Upper House to deal with the question, but the Government intervened and prorogued Convocation, which, as has been pointed out already, did not again meet for the transaction of business for one hundred and thirty-five years. The controversy continued, and the answers to Hoadly were many in number, the greatest by far of these being that of the Nonjuror, William Law, whose

“Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor” Hoadly was wise enough to leave severely alone when replying to his critics.

An even more serious attack on the Church was that led by Whiston and Dr. Samuel Clarke, in the Trinitarian Controversy. They wrote on behalf of Socinianism and Unitarianism; and their doctrines obtained a considerable vogue, especially among the Presbyterians. So many of their ministers and congregations lapsed to Unitarianism, that one of the historians of the “Free Churches” tells us that “in less than half a century the doctrines of the great founders of Presbyterianism could hardly be heard from any Presbyterian pulpit in England.” The Faith of the Church regarding the Person of Christ had many defenders, the chief champion of orthodoxy being Archdeacon Waterland, who utterly routed Clarke. In the third controversy, the Deistic one, the whole subject of revelation was questioned by such writers as Toland, Collins, Woolston, and Tindal. They exalted natural religion at the expense of revealed religion, admitting the existence of a Creator, but asserting that He had left the world to itself; for God is, according to the Deistic conception, throned “in magnificent inactivity at a very remote corner of the universe.” The greatest reply was that of Bishop Butler (then of Bristol, and afterwards of Durham), whose *Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the*

*constitution and course of nature*, proved that precisely the same kind of difficulties as those urged by the Deist against revelation are to be found in nature, which according to the Deist was perfectly plain.

Something more than scholarship was necessary, for Christianity makes its appeal to the whole man, to the heart as well as to the mind, and the Church seemed "to have captured the intellect, but to have lost the heart of the nation," and was rapidly losing its moral force. The first signs of reform came from the Nonjuror, William Law, through the publication in 1728 of the *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, a book which had great influence over Wesley, which touched the Evangelicals in their turn, and also largely influenced the leaders of the Oxford movement; while Dr. Johnson did not go too far when he termed it "the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language."

Though much had been done by the theological writers of the time to make sure the foundations of the Faith, one thing more was wanted, *i.e.* enthusiasm, to give life to the cold, barren, formal orthodoxy. This was the great work of the Methodist movement and the Evangelical revival. But neither one nor the other could ever "have been the force it was unless it had been preceded by the work which was done most effectually by those who placed Christianity upon a thoroughly firm



intellectual basis. Such men as Butler and Waterland and Conybeare and Law not only paved the way for the Wesleys and Whitefield, for Newton, Venn, and Cecil, but rendered their mission possible; and as the former group could never have done the work of the latter, so neither could the latter have ever done the work of the former. The one set lacked the fire of energy, the other intellectual equipment.”<sup>1</sup>

John Wesley was born in the rectory at Epworth in 1703, and carefully brought up, becoming a communicant when only eight years of age. He was ordained in 1725 by Potter, Bishop of Oxford, and the counsel then given him became one of the keynotes of his future life: “If you would do real good, Mr. Wesley, you must not spend your time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness.”<sup>2</sup> For a time he acted as curate to his father, and on his return to Oxford became the leader of a little band of men who were trying to live their lives under rule and method, whence arose the nickname “Methodists.” They were strict as regards their hour of rising, their use of money, their prayers, their observance of the fast days, and their communions, though scoffed at by the crowds which assembled to see them go to church

<sup>1</sup> Overton and Relton, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.



Sunday by Sunday. Nor were active works of mercy and charity neglected, for visits were regularly paid to the prisoners in Oxford Gaol. In 1735 Wesley went as a missionary to Georgia, where he was not very successful, returning in 1738. He then came under the influence of the Moravians, and was "converted" by them, receiving a personal assurance of salvation. It was after this that, having overcome his objection to open-air preaching, he spent the rest of his life in journeys from one end of the country to the other, travelling 250,000 miles, and preaching 40,000 sermons, in churches where possible, in the open air when necessary or advisable. He was assisted by Whitefield and his brother, Charles Wesley, whose hymns were an invaluable help to the movement, taking the place of what John Wesley rightly called "the miserable scandalous doggerel of Hopkins and Sternhold." Conflict with the authorities was bound to come. To the eighteenth-century mind there was no distinction between enthusiasm and fanaticism. Even Bishop Butler said, "Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing." But Wesley had no intention of making any schism from the National Church. His intention, at any rate at first, was to found guilds and societies within the Church, with lay preachers, in order that the sinful who were being left untouched by

the ordinary machinery of the Church might be reached, and when reached, convicted of sin and converted, and then built up in the spiritual life. Much that he did was really inconsistent with membership of an episcopal Church, and prepared the way for the separation which came after his death. His consecration of Dr. Coke to be superintendent of the Methodists in America in 1784 was perhaps only the logical outcome of what he had previously done or permitted, but it was in effect an open rejection of episcopacy. His brother Charles protested against it, and is said to have written :

“How easily are bishops made,  
By man or woman’s whim ;  
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,  
But who laid hands on him ?”

It may be that, if Wesley had been more patient, the schism which ensued might have been avoided, for ten weeks later the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland consecrated Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut, thus providing America with a properly appointed episcopate. Whatever may be thought of the true tendency of some of Wesley’s proceedings, when he himself spoke on the matter it was decisively against separation from the Church of England. “Let all our preachers,” he urged, “go to church. Let all our people go constantly. Receive the Sacrament at every opportunity. Warn them against calling

our society a *church*, or our preachers *ministers*, our houses *meeting-houses*, call them plain preaching-houses"<sup>1</sup>; while at the end of his life he made his solemn declaration: "I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event. Nevertheless, in spite of all that I can do, many of them will separate from it. . . . In flat opposition to these, I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it."<sup>2</sup> George Whitefield and the Calvinistic Methodists had already seceded from the parent society in 1741; and in 1795, four years only after Wesley's death, the formal separation took place between the Methodists and the Church. No churchman can recollect the attitude of the Church authorities towards Methodism without deep regret, tempered only by the thought that, however unequal to the situation her rulers proved themselves, it was in the Church and not elsewhere that the first great revival of religion began.

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii. 385.

<sup>2</sup> See Hutton, *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, p. 249.

## CHAPTER XII

### RECOVERY

(A.D. 1800 TO A.D. 1910; GEORGE III TO GEORGE V)

THE work which was begun by the Methodists within, and carried on by them as an organisation outside the Church, was taken up inside the National Church by the Evangelicals, who filled it with men of burning faith and holy lives. There was Romaine of St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. Anne's, Blackfriars, who lived down persecution and worked faithfully in his parish; Henry Venn, who was for twelve years at Huddersfield, and there showed the power of true piety in a manufacturing district; John Newton, the converted slave-trader; Scott, his spiritual son, the famous commentator; Cowper, the Evangelical poet; Hannah More among the Cheddar Hills, where she "turned a moral wilderness into a fruitful garden"; and the Clapham Sect, consisting of such men as William Wilberforce, Lord Dartmouth, Thornton the banker, and John Venn, their rector. They killed the slave trade, and they gave themselves to good works. They founded the Religious Tract Society

in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; Sunday Schools had already been started in 1781 by Raikes and Stocks; while—greatest of all their works—in 1799 they launched the Church Missionary Society on its famous career for the evangelisation of the heathen. Lecky did not exaggerate when he wrote: “They gradually changed the whole spirit of the English Church. They infused into it a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the preaching of its ministers.”

The early years of the nineteenth century may be passed over rapidly. The National Society was formed in 1811 “for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church”; the slave trade was abolished in 1807; the episcopate was given to India in 1814 by the consecration of Middleton to the see of Calcutta. New churches were badly wanted in London and other populous centres, on account of the growth of industrialism and the exodus from the villages to the large towns, and accordingly the Church Building Society came into existence in 1818, whilst Parliament made grants between 1818 and 1824 to this important work, giving in all a million and a half of money. Part of this, however, went to the Church of Scotland, while in the majority of cases the Parliamentary grants



were made to meet money raised by private contributions. The Test Act and the Corporation Act were at length repealed in 1828, and the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act became law in 1829. A Royal Commission on ecclesiastical duties and revenues reported in favour of a redistribution of episcopal incomes, and the body known as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was formed in 1836. The episcopal, and many of the capitular, estates were vested in them with a view to their better and more economical management, and a "common fund" was created to deal with the balance after the payment of fixed incomes to the bishops and chapters. Out of this "common fund" much has been done towards the augmentation of poor benefices and the endowment of new parishes, grants being made between 1840 and 1910 to no fewer than 6500 benefices, their value exceeding £942,000 a year. Yet things were not well with the Church. Joseph Hume could say in the House of Commons that the Church was "a body condemned by the country," and that its "charter was on the eve of being cancelled by the authority that gave it,"<sup>1</sup> while the Church's unpopularity reached its height when twenty-one of the bishops voted against the Reform Bill in 1831, and Earl Grey, the Whig Premier, told the bishops to "set their houses in order." Bishops were burnt in effigy

<sup>1</sup> Overton, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 12.



on Guy Fawkes Day, the Bishop of Bristol's palace was burnt by the rioters, and the future seemed most uncertain. When Dr. Ryder, the Bishop of Lichfield, met his clergy in 1832, he pointed out that four years "must elapse now before we meet again on a similar occasion," and added, "I feel that a more than common uncertainty hangs over such a prospect."<sup>1</sup>

Much of this unpopularity was due to political causes, for the Church, though it had not shaken off the torpor of the eighteenth century, was showing in many directions greater vitality than in the past. Her more complete awakening she was to owe to a new movement. In 1833 John Keble preached his assize sermon at Oxford on the subject of "National Apostasy." "I have ever," wrote Newman in his *Apologia*, "considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."<sup>2</sup> Dean Church has remarked that "this memorable sermon was a strong expression of the belief common to a large body of Churchmen amid the triumphs of the Reform Bill, that the new governors of the country were preparing to invade the rights and to alter the constitution, and even the public documents, of the Church."<sup>3</sup> Ten Irish bishoprics had been suppressed in defiance of Church opinion; and there were other signs that the Church might have to face a period

<sup>1</sup> *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> P. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, p. 92.

of political persecution. The sermon, therefore, "was a call to face in earnest a changed state of things, full of immediate and pressing danger; to consider how it was to be met by Christians and Churchmen, and to watch motives and tempers."<sup>1</sup> The object of the movement which was thus begun was to guard "the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church," and to maintain the Church of England as part of the Church of the Creeds—One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, with a Divine origin, and holding its commission, not from Parliament or the People, but from its Founder, Christ. Newman, who had been trained in the Evangelical school, joined the movement, and began the *Tracts for the Times*, with their appeal to the Fathers of the Church and to the great divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud. In 1835 the movement was immensely strengthened by Pusey coming into it, bringing with him all that was involved in his position as a Regius Professor, his moral weight, and his monumental learning. For a time there was no open opposition and much support. But many were covertly hostile, and when Tract 90 by Newman was issued in 1841 the storm burst. The Tract was at once condemned, and the series came to an end; while, in 1843, Pusey was condemned and forbidden to preach for two years in the university pulpit on account of his

<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, p. 93.

sermon, "The Holy Eucharist as a Comfort to the Penitent." Two years later Newman was received into the Church of Rome, the first, alas! of a long series of similar secessions. There is no need now to trace the subsequent history of the movement after it had ceased to be technically of "Oxford." It is enough to say that like former revivals it brought its contribution to the riches of the National Church, insisting specially on the fact that the Church of England is a true part of the Church Universal, and as such owes obedience to its great ideals of corporate faith and service.

The last eighty years have been a time of remarkable recovery and growth; and one charge at least cannot be made with any show of justice, the charge of being a dead or sleeping Church. The episcopate has been largely increased. Ten new dioceses have been created in this country: Ripon in 1836, Manchester in 1847, Truro in 1876, St. Albans in 1877, Liverpool in 1880, Newcastle in 1882, Southwell in 1884, Wakefield in 1888, Birmingham and Southwark in 1904; while Bristol, which was joined to Gloucester in 1836, became a separate diocese once more in 1897. No one will deny the necessity of the new dioceses when it is remembered, for instance, that Manchester and Liverpool formerly formed part of Chester; that Truro was part of Exeter; and that the whole of Northumberland was in the diocese of Durham. Episcopal oversight and activity have become

much more real, and the days are far past when a bishop could divide his diocese into two parts, confirming in one half one year, in the other the next, and taking a holiday from work during the third. Not only have some of the dioceses been subdivided, but to deal with the rapid increase of episcopal work the old office of suffragan-bishop has been revived, Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln setting the example by the appointment of a Bishop of Nottingham in 1870. Even so, it has become evident that a further subdivision of dioceses is necessary; and steps are being taken at the present time with that object in the dioceses of St. Albans, York, Oxford, &c. Side by side with the numerical increase of the episcopate a new type of bishop has arisen, led by such men as were Wilberforce of Oxford, Phillpotts of Exeter, and Selwyn of Lichfield, not to speak of many of the present occupants of episcopal sees.

So, too, a new type of clergyman has come into existence. He no longer passes direct from the college cricket field or boats to his parish, but receives careful instruction in theology, pastoral work, the art of preaching, and, above all, in the cultivation of the spiritual life, in one of the many theological colleges which have been instituted for the purpose; and, lest it should be said that the ministry of the Church is only open to the rich, new colleges are arising at which men with real vocation, but little of this

world's goods, may be prepared to take their place in the ranks of the clergy. Pluralism and absenteeism are practically unknown. The clergy are living among their people, and are at their call by day and by night. In the great majority of cases they are known to them and know them. The Sacraments are decently and frequently administered, and daily service in the churches is the rule rather than the exception. A wealth of organisation has sprung up in order to reach every section of the people, and the clergy take their place in social life and work for the betterment of the masses. The signs of church building and restoration are visible on every side. New churches and mission-rooms are constantly being opened, while public schools and colleges are realising their responsibilities, and supporting missions in London and other great centres. Missions to reach special classes of people, navvies, fishermen, and the like, have been started; parochial missions are frequently held that the careless may be roused, the fallen recovered, and the penitent restored; community life, both for men and women, has been revived; and it is being increasingly understood that "the Church" does not mean the clergy alone, the paid and the voluntary work of the laity, both men and women, being taken advantage of more and more as the years go on.

The Church is able, once again, to speak, if



not to legislate, for itself, for Convocation was revived in 1852, after its suppression for 135 years. In its first twenty years of revived activity it dealt with two important practical matters, for "it was Archdeacon Sandford's Committee on Intemperance that originated the Church of England Temperance Society; and it was Bishop Wilberforce's proposals in the Upper House that led to the Revision of the English Bible." It is true that at present its constitution is not perfect, for the official element, the deans, archdeacons, and proctors for the cathedral chapters, largely outnumber the proctors for the parochial clergy, but "the reform of Convocation" is one of the matters to which practical attention is being given. The House of Laymen has been created, and is able to give valuable advice on questions where it is important that the layman's side of the matter should be heard; while the Representative Church Council consists of the Upper, Lower, and Laymen's Houses of both Provinces, enabling the bishops and the representatives of the clergy and laity to meet together for counsel. Church Congresses are held annually, while Diocesan Conferences and Ruridecanal Chapters and Conferences have rendered invaluable aid, not least in bringing men of various schools of thought together, and so reducing the breadth and depth of the divisions which formerly separated party from party.



From the foundation of the National Society in 1811 considerable attention has been paid to the work of education, and between the years 1811 and 1870 churchpeople spent £15,149,938 in the building and maintenance of Church Schools and Training Colleges for teachers, while between 1894 and 1902 £6,771,286 was given towards the cost of education, apart from what was collected for the cost of new buildings, structural alterations, administration, and inspection. Two of the dates just mentioned, 1870 and 1902, were turning-points in the history of education; for in 1870 (when there were already 6382 Church of England Schools) Parliament passed an Act setting up Board Schools, not to supplant, but to supplement, the work of the Church; while in 1902 Mr. Balfour's Education Act linked together the educational system of the country, placing Church and other voluntary schools, together with the Board Schools, under the control of the County and Borough Councils so far as secular education is concerned. In return the whole cost of maintenance is now borne by public funds, the erection and repair of the buildings still falling upon churchmen. The State thus obtained the use of these Church Schools as part of its system of public education, without having to pay anything for the buildings, while the most popularly elected bodies in the country obtained complete control over everything connected with the secular instruc-

tion given in them. The result was an outbreak of "Passive Resistance," and the introduction by the Liberal Government of various Education Bills, by Mr. Birrell, by Mr. McKenna, and by Mr. Runciman, none of which have become law; while in recent years there has been some high-handed treatment of Church Schools by various County Councils, especially in Wales and the West Riding of Yorkshire, and pressure, in some cases unfair, on the part of the Education Department.

The present age is one of intellectual unrest, and every Church has had to defend the Faith committed to its charge. Metaphysical speculation, Biblical criticism, even scientific theories such as evolution, have at times shaken the faith of churchmen as of other Christians. On the whole, we may thankfully say that the Church has suffered no more, perhaps less, than other Christian bodies, and the bitter controversies which arose over such books as *Essays and Reviews*, *Ecce Homo*, *Supernatural Religion*, and *Lux Mundi* are now things of the past. That vital questions still remain, no one will deny, and new ones doubtless will arise. But from all such dangers we may, with all humility, hope that we shall be preserved in the future as we have been in the past.

It is unnecessary, here, to enter into the controversies which have taken place in regard to the conduct of public worship; culminating on one side in the "Public Worship Regulation Act" of

1874, and on the other side in the trial of Bishop King before Archbishop Benson. It is perhaps enough to say with a modern Evangelical writer (Dr. Eugene Stock) that the last half century has "witnessed a general advance in Church ritual which almost all parties now accept as right and good. The rubrics are far more carefully obeyed; holy-days are well observed; musical services are common; and beyond dispute the Church is the stronger for it." <sup>1</sup>

Moreover, various Acts of Parliament have been passed which have strengthened the Church's position. The "Clerical Subscription Act" of 1865 relieved burdened consciences, by amending the Act of Uniformity of 1662, so that the clergy are no longer required to express their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything" in the Prayer Book; but only to "assent" to it, to express "belief" in its doctrines, and to undertake "to use the Form in the said Book prescribed, and none other," except so far as shall be permitted by "lawful authority." Apart from the various Acts of Parliament which have been passed for the creation of new dioceses, it has been made easier for the beneficed clergy to retire with a pension, by means of the "Incumbents' Resignation Acts" of 1871 and 1888; provision has been made for shortened services by the "Act of Uniformity Amendment Act" of 1872; the "Clergy

<sup>1</sup> *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 80.

Discipline Acts" of 1840 and 1892 have enabled the Church to deal more satisfactorily than was before possible with criminous clergymen; while the "Benefices Act" of 1898 dealt with some of the evils connected with patronage. Similarly, many of the grievances, real or supposed, of Nonconformists have been removed. Compulsory Church Rates were abolished in 1868; the "Universities Tests Act" of 1871 took away nearly all the restrictions remaining with regard to the admission of Nonconformists to Oxford and Cambridge, and the "Burials Act" of 1880 removed certain grievances relating to the burial of Nonconformists in parish churchyards by their own ministers.

Perhaps the most important Act relating to the Church passed in the nineteenth century was that for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869; an Act which, it is manifest, has entirely failed to bring peace and concord to Ireland; and though the Irish Church has given a noble example of what can be done in spite of crippling and confiscation, her progress has been in spite of, not because of, Disestablishment. To assert the reverse is, says a modern Irish bishop (Dr. Bernard of Ossory), "to fall into the vulgar error of confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc*."

Abroad there has been considerable expansion, for the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous revival of interest in foreign missionary work among the heathen, and in the duty of minister-

ing to our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies. It is enough to say that whereas in 1800 there were 200 millions of Christians in the world, there are at the present time 500 millions. The Anglican Communion now exists in over 250 dioceses in every part of the world, civilised and uncivilised, east and west, north and south. When the first Lambeth Conference of bishops met in 1867, 76 bishops were present; in 1878, 100 attended; 145 in 1888; 194 in 1897; while at the fifth Conference, held in 1908, there were no fewer than 247.

During the past hundred and twenty years there have been three great schools of thought in the Church—the Evangelicals, the Oxford Movement, and the Broad Church—and each has added something to her spiritual life. Stated quite briefly, the Evangelicals insisted on the principle of justification by faith and the necessity of conversion; the Oxford reformers dwelt on the importance of the Church and her sacraments; the Broad Churchmen emphasised good moral living as the test of real Christianity. These are not opposites, for “the system of grace, the response of faith, the result in obedience” are in reality parts of one great whole. Accordingly, the English Church has a special mission to fulfil, just because it holds fast to the Bible and to primitive days, whilst at the same time it accepts what was good in the great upheaval of thought in the sixteenth



century. She is a Church of reasoned liberty, not less than of historic faith.

Many questions of grave importance still wait for their full solution—the way in which Church Reform should be carried out, how the Church's work should be financed by its members, the relationship between Church and State, questions regarding education, the limits of toleration in respect both to doctrine and ceremonial. Still the Church can thank God and take courage. The past teaches of the great things which God has already done, and inspires, therefore, to faithfulness and increased zeal for the future; as He has been “our help in ages past” so is He “our hope for years to come.”



## CHAPTER XIII

### CONSTITUTION (ECCLESIASTICAL)

OUR National Church consists of two Provinces of the Universal or Catholic Church, for as the Act 23 Henry VIII, cap. 20, says: "Our Sovereign the King and all his national subjects continue to be as obedient, devout, Catholic and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any people be, within any realm Christened"; and the sixth of the Canons of 1571 orders that preachers shall "teach nothing in the way of a sermon, which they would have religiously held and believed by the people, save what is agreeable to the teaching of the Old or New Testament, and what the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from this self-same doctrine." But it is something more than two Provinces or so many dioceses of the Church Catholic, for its history makes it plain that just as the people of England became the English nation, so the Church in England became a National Church, with the result that while on the one hand it shares in the life of the whole Church, on the other it is bound together by a common life peculiar to itself. To those who assert that before

the Reformation there was no such thing as a National Church or Church of England, but merely two Provinces of the Church of Rome in this country, the answer may be given in the words of Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar: "It has a real life and character of its own, which has left its record in every page of its history. The man who is unable to discern and recognise this may understand many things; he may be able to study logic; he may be able to understand mechanics; in a perfunctory and wooden sort of way he may even be able to study law; but at least let him keep his profane hands off the study of history, and Church history above all, for he has shown himself incapable of understanding what it means."

The two Provinces are those of Canterbury and York. In Gregory's plan for the organisation of the infant Church of England the proposal was different. He proposed an archbishopric in London, with twelve suffragans under its primate, and a similar archbishopric at York, also with twelve suffragans. The archbishopric for the Southern Province has, however, always remained at Canterbury, and even in the twentieth century the Province of York does not yet consist of twelve dioceses. For a considerable period there was much dispute as to the relationship between the two archbishoprics, Gregory having ordered that the senior of them should have precedence over the other; and it was not until 1072 that the

question was decided in favour of Canterbury, Anselm being consecrated in 1093 as "Primate of all England," while the Archbishop of York bears the title of "Primate of England."

The number of dioceses in the National Church is now thirty-seven, of which twenty-seven are in the Southern and ten in the Northern Province. Some of these date back to the foundation of the English Church, others came into existence at the time of the Reformation through the dissolution of the monasteries, and ten have been created since the beginning of the nineteenth century; while efforts are being made at the present time to enable a still further subdivision to take place. The total number of dioceses in the Anglican Communion is 268, all in full communion with the see of Canterbury, the direct metropolitan jurisdiction of that see being acknowledged by thirty of these dioceses outside England.

Over each of the dioceses is a diocesan bishop, who, in most cases, is assisted in his work by one or more suffragan or assistant bishops. The diocesan bishops are appointed by the Crown on the nomination of the Prime Minister. This is no system invented at the Reformation period, for it has its roots in the early history of the English Church. Agilbert in the seventh century was appointed to Dorchester by King Cynegils, and Wighard was chosen by the Kings of Kent and

Northumbria, with the consent of the Church.<sup>1</sup> In early days the bishop was sometimes appointed by the king alone, sometimes by the king and Council, sometimes by the bishops of the Province, and sometimes "by a much larger body of public opinion." In Canute's reign we find the acceptance of the royal appointment by the Witan, followed by a writ to the Archbishop commanding the consecration of the royal nominee after his election by the cathedral chapter; and after the Norman Conquest, while the chapters were given leave to elect, the king did not promise that they were to be at liberty to choose anyone whom they might fancy, for the election took place in the king's chapel, and in the presence of his justiciary, who ruled the election.

It must be observed, however, that though the Crown "nominates," it does not "make" the bishops. The steps are four in number. First there is the election, a *congé d'élire*—that is, a permission to elect—being sent to the chapter concerned, together with a letter missive naming the nominee of the Crown. Following the election comes the confirmation of the election, to satisfy the Archbishop or his vicar-general as to the canonical fitness of the person elected, as also the validity and regularity of the election. It may be remarked in passing that the Upper House of Convocation has been considering the best way to

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 19 and 25.

make this formal function more of a reality. Thirdly, there is the consecration by the officials of the Church, the Archbishop and assisting bishops, which alone can make a man a bishop; and last of all there is the homage paid to the king for the possessions of the bishopric. These are technically divided into two parts, the temporalities and the spiritualities, but while the bishop acknowledges that the right to receive the income both of the one and the other comes from the Crown, he does homage for the temporalities alone. The spiritualities in this sense are merely the fees which come to a bishop or his officials for licenses and similar acts, and the recognition that the right to receive them comes from the Crown, does not mean that the Crown is in any way the source of a bishop's spiritual authority.

While in one sense all bishops are the suffragans of the Archbishop of the Province in which their sees are situated, the term is now generally employed to denote the bishops who are assisting the various diocesan bishops, who, while they possess territorial titles, have no territorial jurisdiction. Such bishops are not elected by any chapters, nor are they confirmed, nor do they do homage. They are appointed by the bishop of the diocese concerned, who submits two names to the Crown, and the one selected is then consecrated. In the Middle Ages, on account of the large amount of State work done by the diocesan



bishops, suffragans were common, while at the Reformation the Act 26 Henry VIII, cap. 14, sec. 1, arranged for the appointment of a considerable number of such suffragans, giving a list of the towns after which they were to be called; and Charles II contemplated their revival in his declaration touching ecclesiastical affairs, issued just before his restoration. It was not, however, until the middle of the nineteenth century that much was done, Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln being the first modern bishop to appoint a suffragan.

In consequence of the creation of new dioceses during the nineteenth century, without any corresponding increase in the number of bishops who have seats and votes in the House of Lords, the ten bishops last appointed are always out of the House, except that the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester take their seats immediately on their appointment. It has been disputed whether they sit there because they hold their lands as tenants in chief by barony from the Crown, or by reason of any custom not founded on tenure. Anyhow, they were in fact summoned, and sat with the temporal lords, from the first commencement of Parliament. The writs which summon the lords temporal and the lords spiritual to every Parliament are in the same ancient form, and call them together to consider "urgent affairs" concerning "the Church" as well as "the Realm."

Each diocese contains one or more archdeacon-



ries, the archdeacon being the "*oculus episcopi*," or bishop's eye. In the early Church he was always in deacon's orders, but nowadays, when he has become possessed of jurisdiction over the clergy, with a spiritual court of his own, he is necessarily a priest, sometimes a bishop. At the present time little is left him beyond the right of inspecting churches, swearing in churchwardens, and holding visitations of the clergy. Each archdeaconry consists of a number of rural deaneries, the rural dean, an office of great antiquity, calling together both clergy and laity into chapters and conferences. A varying number of parishes make up each rural deanery, and in each parish is a rector or vicar, who is assisted where necessary by assistant clergy, now called curates, though properly the curate is the incumbent who holds the cure of souls. The last census gives the number of parishes in the National Church as 14,328, an increase of 248 since the census of 1901. The right of presentation to these benefices is in various hands—the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, bishops, cathedral chapters, universities and colleges in the universities, the rectors of mother parishes, trustees, and private individuals, all of whom are called patrons. After presentation the presentee must be instituted by the bishop before he can hold the living, and the bishop may and sometimes does refuse institution on the ground of unfitness.

These parishes cover the whole country, the Church being truly national from the geographical

point of view, as contrasted with the localism of Nonconformity. It has, for instance, been pointed out that in the diocese of Norwich there are 914 parishes, but in no fewer than 393 of these the clergyman is the only resident minister of religion ; that in the diocese of St. Davids 130 out of its 371 parishes are in the same condition ; while the Archbishop of Canterbury has shown that when he was Bishop of Rochester, with South London under his care, in three of its deaneries, with a population of 430,000, the provision of the Church was 51 parishes with 137 resident clergy, as contrasted with 32 chapels with 13 resident ministers.

During the Middle Ages the custom arose, through the increase of monasticism, of transferring benefices to monastic bodies, the monastery thus becoming the rector and receiving part of the income, generally the great tithes, while the care of the parish and part of its endowment were handed over to a vicar ; and by the time of the dissolution of the monasteries a considerable proportion of the benefices had thus become appropriated. Thus we get the distinction between rectors and vicars.

The legislative organ of the Church is Convocation, which consists of four Houses, the Upper and Lower Houses of each Province ; the former being composed of the diocesan bishops, the latter of the deans and archdeacons, with one proctor for each cathedral chapter, and in the Province of

Canterbury one proctor for the beneficed clergy of each diocese, while in the York Convocation there is one proctor for the beneficed clergy of each archdeaconry. No doubt, when the reform of Convocation is taken in hand, the unbeneficed clergy will obtain that representation which they do not at present possess; while the official element will no longer so largely predominate over the elected element. The House of Laymen in each Province, which was brought into existence in 1886, is on a purely voluntary basis (consisting of a certain number of laymen for each diocese, elected by the lay members of the Diocesan Conference), possessing no legal character, as is also the case with the Representative Church Council, which consists of these six Houses assembled together. It first met in 1903.

Convocation is thus a representative body of the bishops and the clergy summoned by the Archbishop, at the command of the king, to advise and act in affairs of State. Edward I for the purposes of taxation desired the presence of the whole clergy, by their representatives, as a third estate in Parliament, his writs of 1293 and later date commanding the archbishops and bishops of both Provinces to attend in Parliament with their deans and archdeacons, and elected representatives of the chapters and clergy of each diocese. The clergy, however, resisted, on the ground that the summons was an invasion of their liberties,

and after the dispute had lasted some years it was settled in 1315 by a compromise, the king not only abandoning his claim to summon the clergy to Parliament, but also that of summoning them by his own writ, while the clergy renounced the right of summoning the Convocations by their own authority. The plan agreed to, which has lasted to the present day, was that the clergy should be summoned by the archbishops, in accordance with the king's writ, at the same time as each Parliament. The disqualification of the clergy from sitting in the House of Commons is historically due to the fact that they have their own separate representation in the Convocations. As the House of Commons, which met, in the first instance, solely to grant supplies to the king, gradually began to take part in the conduct of the general business of the realm, so the Convocations, which at first were solely concerned with taxation, began to deal with the spiritual affairs of the Church, and in time superseded the older provincial synods, which had been composed of bishops alone. It was not until 1664 that the clergy gave up the right of taxing themselves in Convocation, this being the result of an arrangement made between Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Chancellor Hyde, the clergy agreeing for the future to be included in the money bills of the House of Commons.

When assembled under the king's writ the

Convocations are constitutional parts of the State, and if letters of business have been received, can proceed to discuss ecclesiastical business; but before any canons which they may pass can possess legal effect, the consent of the Crown is necessary, a condition of affairs which will be reverted to in the next chapter.

In addition to its legislative organs the Church has also its judges and courts of law. In each diocese there is a Consistory Court presided over by the chancellor of the diocese, while above this is the Court of the Arches (so called because it originally sat in Bow Church, Cheapside, the tower of which is on arches), which is the highest court belonging to the Archbishop, and is the Court of Appeal for the Province; that of York being called the Chancery Court of York. When appeals to Rome were forbidden in 1532-3 the question naturally arose as to the body by which appeals should be heard for the future, and the decision of the Archbishop's court was made final. In the following year this decision was revised, and arrangements made for appeals to go from the Archbishop's court to the king in Chancery, which continued to be the rule until 1833, when the final authority was made, by Statute, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Lord Chancellor Selborne has pointed out that "there was very little, if any, difference in principle between the appeal to the king in Chancery given



by the Act of 1533 and the eighth article of the Constitutions of Clarendon"; while he also remarks that "it is needless to add that there cannot possibly be any difference in principle between an appeal to the king in Chancery given by Statute in A.D. 1533 and an appeal to the king in Council given by Statute in A.D. 1832; the latter may, or may not, be a better court than the former, but there cannot be any difference in principle." It must, however, also be noted that the Church had a voice in the legislation of 1533, but that in 1833 Convocation had not been revived, so that the alteration was made by the State without the concurrence of the Church in any corporate capacity. This is responsible for much of the current opposition to the Judicial Committee as a final court of appeal for Church matters, the result being expressed in the words of the recent Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, that "as thousands of clergy, with strong lay support, refuse to recognise the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee, its judgments cannot practically be enforced." It should be noted that the Judicial Committee, when giving a decision in the Gorham case, stated its powers in plain terms: "This Court . . . has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law estab-

lished to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and Formularies." It is, however, obvious that a decision of any point in controversy must involve a ruling that one side is wrong, and that side will usually believe that the court, even though intending to declare old law, has in fact been engaged in new legislation.

## CHAPTER XIV

### CONSTITUTION (CIVIL)

A CONTRAST is frequently drawn between the "State Church" and the "Free Churches," as if the National Church, because of its established position, was in fetters to the State, while the Nonconformist denominations were the possessors of freedom. As a matter of fact there is no necessary connection between Establishment and State control. Establishment means, in the first place, the grant to a religious body of a legal status, so that it can invoke the power of the law for the protection of its property. But this protection the law will only give to any corporate body upon condition that it holds its property on the terms on which it was given. If the members of the body desire to alter the terms on which the property is held, they must obtain the sanction of the State by legislation, or otherwise any person interested can insist that the terms should not be altered, or that those who wish for the alteration should give up all claim to the corporate property. In this sense all religious bodies which are tolerated are established. For instance, when

in Scotland the Free Church joined the United Presbyterians, a small section of the Free Church, commonly called the "Wee Frees," objected, on the ground that by the terms on which the junction had been made the Free Church had departed from its original standards or articles of belief. The Wee Frees therefore claimed successfully the whole of the property of the Free Church, and Parliament had to intervene and grant by State Endowment to the United Free Church a great part of the property which in law belonged to the Wee Frees. In consequence of these occurrences, the National Free Church Council, in 1905, resolved: "That in view of a recent decision of the House of Lords, in the opinion of this Council, it is desirable that an Act of Parliament should be obtained to enable the Free Churches of England and Wales, whether grouped connectionally or as separate Churches, to vary, repeal, or remake, subject to such safeguards and limitations as may be thought expedient, the trusts, so far as they affect doctrine, and polity, under which their property is held, in order to avoid making these questions matters of reference to a Court of Law or to Parliament," thus recognising that they too held their property by the authority of the State.

There is, however, another sense in which the Church is said to be established. Even the very meagre account of the history of the Church that

we have been able to give in these pages shows that from very early times the State recognised the Church as the national exponent of Christianity. It did so because it was at first, and, in spite of everything, still continues to be in its doctrine and organisation, expressive of the best religious convictions of the nation. If this be so, the nation necessarily has the right to secure that no great or far-reaching changes are made in the doctrine or organisation of the Church without the assent of the State. This is the reason for such things as the Crown appointment of the chief officials of the Church, and the control by the Crown of the proceedings in Convocation. As Lord Chancellor Selborne puts it: "The relations between the Church of England and the State, which constitute the Establishment of the Church, are in their true nature securities taken by the State against possible excesses of uncontrolled ecclesiastical power, rather than privileges conferred upon the Church by the State"; a sentence which he explains when he adds that: "to allow that which is regarded as public law, and which is enforced by public tribunals, to be enacted, repealed, or altered in any matter of substance, without previous licence, or subsequent assent and confirmation of the civil power, would be to admit a dual system of government within the realm, not less inconsistent in principle with the independence of the supreme authority of the



State than the foreign power which was rejected at the Reformation.”<sup>1</sup>

In considering the establishment of the Church two misconceptions must be avoided. In the first place, the Church was not created by the State, nor was it even recognised as the National Church by any formal piece of legislation. It is now generally acknowledged that it is impossible to discover any Act, or Acts, of Parliament by means of which its establishment was brought about, and accordingly Mr. Ellis Griffith admits that “disestablishment, therefore, is not the repeal of an Act of Parliament, but a fundamental modification and reversal of the status now enjoyed by the Church.”<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, it is a delusion to imagine that the object or the result of establishment was to grant to the Church important privileges which have not been given to the other religious organisations in the land. It is easy for Liberationists to speak, in vague and general terms, of the privileges which it enjoys, but when the proposals for disestablishment are set out in detail in a Parliamentary Bill, the only privilege which can be mentioned is the presence of certain of its bishops in the House of Lords, and if this so-called privilege be a real grievance, it could be remedied quite apart from disestablishment, as one of the promised reforms of the Second Chamber.

<sup>1</sup> *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *The Case for Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment*, p. 5.

The condition, then, of the establishment of the National Church, in the sense of its recognition as the religious organ of the nation, centres round the question of the Royal Supremacy. This, as has already been pointed out, was no invention of the Reformation period. The only important change which was then made in the relation of Church and State was in the assumption of the title "Supreme Head," which, however, was rejected by Elizabeth in favour of the title "Supreme Governor." It is explained in the Thirty-seventh of the Articles of Religion that no power of ministering either the Word or the Sacraments is thereby conferred upon the Sovereign; while in his letter of 1533 to the clergy of the York Province, Henry VIII was careful to show what it involved and what it did not involve: "In all these Acts concerning the persons of priests, their laws, their acts, and order of living, forasmuch as they be indeed all *temporal* and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we be called) be indeed in this realm *Caput*, and because there is no man above us here, *supremum caput*. As to spiritual things . . . they have no worldly or temporal head, but only Christ. And being called 'head' of all, we be not in deed—nor in name to him that would sincerely understand it—head of such things. Ye ought to understand *temporalibus* for the passing over this life in quietness. . . . It were most improperly spoken, to say we be *illius*

*ecclesiæ caput in temporalibus*, which hath not *temporalia*.”<sup>1</sup>

If it be asked what are the actual details of the Royal Supremacy over the Church, or rather “over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, throughout his dominions,” the answer is given by the famous English theologian Richard Hooker, under five heads: “the prerogative of calling and dissolving greater assemblies, about spiritual affairs public; the right of assenting unto all those orders concerning religion, which must after be in force as laws; the advancement of principal Church governors to their rooms of prelacy: judicial authority higher than others are capable of; and exemption from being punishable with such kind of censures as the platform of reformation doth teach that they ought to be subject unto.”<sup>2</sup> Some of these points demand consideration in further detail.

In the first place, there is the fact that Convocation can meet only by the king’s writ, and that its Canons possess no legal effect until ratified by the Crown, or in these days, by Parliament. This matter will be referred to later, when the relationship between the Church and Parliament is under discussion; here it is sufficient to say that it may be “a great hindrance to some necessary reforms,

<sup>1</sup> See Curteis, *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England*, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccl. Pol.*, viii. 2, 1.

but it is not theoretically unreasonable that the State should claim to be consulted before changes which might powerfully affect the national life are introduced by the Church. The idea of establishment being that the State recognises the Church, it is proper that before the Church makes changes which might alter the significance of the State's recognition, the State should be consulted."

Secondly, there is the State appointment of bishops, which, no doubt, can easily be attacked as a matter of theory, while it must be acknowledged that at certain times in the past bishops have been appointed for political reasons, as was specially the case during the eighteenth century. But though no one would maintain that the present method of episcopal appointment is perfect, it is not easy to see what other method could be advantageously substituted for it. The suggestion that the appointment should rest with the clergy and representative laity of the diocese concerned does not receive much support from the recent history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, where this method prevails. The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject, in his visitation of his diocese in February 1912, deserve very careful attention: "On the strength of an absolutely unique knowledge of the subject, and of thirty years' detailed experience of what actually does take place, I feel bound in honesty to say that I grow increasingly certain that any change of

system would, so far as I can judge, be to the detriment, and not the gain, of the Church. I say this as one who not only knows precisely and intimately what happens in England, but who has long and close knowledge also of the procedure followed in the great Dominions oversea, and who has certainly had more to do with those appointments outside England than any living man in our Church. I doubt whether among those who are competently informed there are many who would regard a new mode of electing bishops as being among the gains, if any, which disestablishment would bring.”<sup>1</sup>

The third matter is that of the Church courts. The Church courts and judges are part of the general judicial system of the country, and the law which they administer is that portion of the general law which deals with ecclesiastical matters. It has already been stated that there is considerable controversy within the Church regarding the authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and it must be admitted that both the constitution and the actions of that tribunal are open to considerable criticism. But again, to quote the words of the Primate, “I have never concealed my own opinion, that by the simple application of a little ‘common sense all round’ a reform of these courts could be effected upon lines which would preserve the principle of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Character and Call of the Church of England*, p. 96.



Royal Supremacy without compromising any sound principle of Church order.”<sup>1</sup> It may be added that the report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline recommended a reform of the diocesan and provincial courts on the lines of the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1893, and that “where, in an appeal before the Final Court, which involves charges of heresy or breach of ritual, any question touching the doctrine or use of the Church of England shall be in controversy, which question is not, in the opinion of the Court, governed by the plain language of documents having the force of Acts of Parliament, and involves the doctrine or use of the Church of England proper to be applied to the facts found by the Court, such question shall be referred to an assembly of the archbishops and bishops of both Provinces, who shall be entitled to call in such advice as they may think fit; and the opinion of the majority of such assembly of the archbishops and bishops, with regard to any question so submitted to them, shall be binding on the Court for the purpose of the said appeal.”

Establishment is often regarded as synonymous with parliamentary control. If by this phrase it is meant that Parliament has a constitutional right to alter the doctrines or ceremonies of the Church against the will of the Church, or even without

<sup>1</sup> *The Character and Call of the Church of England*, p. 99.

her consent, this is not true. As already explained, the Royal Supremacy gives to the Crown, which now means the king acting on the advice of his parliamentary ministers, the right to refuse assent to the proceedings of Convocation; and in ecclesiastical changes proposed by Convocation which cannot be carried out without the assistance of the civil power, an Act of Parliament is sometimes necessary to make such changes effective. It is also true that, since Parliament is sovereign, a Statute changing the doctrines of the Anglican Church or of the Roman Catholic Church in England, or of any of the Free Churches, would be legally unassailable. But such interferences are beyond the moral and constitutional power of Parliament. At the time of the Reformation, and particularly under Henry VIII and Edward VI, Parliament more than once invaded the domain of the Church, and affected to alter her formularies and ceremonies without the assent of Convocation. But such proceedings were in the nature of usurpations, only tolerable because Parliament contained at that time churchmen and churchmen only. The true position was made clear by certain of the acts of Queen Elizabeth. When the Parliament of 1572 attempted to deal with Church questions, her message was that "her Highness' pleasure is that from henceforth no Bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this House, unless the same should

be first considered and liked by the clergy"; and in the following year the Speaker, Sir E. Coke, was warned that "her Majesty's pleasure is that if you perceive any idle heads . . . which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth, and do exhibit any Bills to such purpose, that you receive them not until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things and can better judge of them." Similarly the King's Declaration, prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, and written by Archbishop Laud, says that "if any difference arise about the external policy, concerning the injunctions, canons, and other constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under our broad seal so to do; and we approving their said ordinances and constitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the laws and customs of the land."

This, too, was the order of procedure adopted in 1661 when the Prayer Book underwent its final revision, for the initiative was taken by Convocation, and the Prayer Book sent to Parliament, where it was accepted in the form already agreed on by the Convocation and the king. It is true that the House of Commons asserted its right of debating the Book, but it refused to exercise that alleged right, the changes being accepted

as a whole, even the correction of clerical errors being referred back to Convocation.

How then did the present misapprehension arise? The explanation must be sought partly in the tendency during the eighteenth century to regard the Church as little more than the State Department of Morals, and partly in the fact that Convocation was suppressed in 1717, with the result that there was no possible way for the Church corporately to express its views on matters of proposed legislation, save in so far as the bishops were able to speak for it in the House of Lords. Accordingly its affairs, not including either doctrine or ceremonial, were increasingly settled by Parliament without consultation with the Church, and though Convocation has been revived, the legacy of the eighteenth century remains in the idea under discussion, that the Church is, so to speak, the handmaid of Parliament, and must accordingly accept any ecclesiastical legislation, even if it were to involve an alteration of its terms of communion. Here is the root of much of the current opposition on the part of certain church-people to the continued establishment of the Church. To dispel it, all that is required is a clearer apprehension of the real constitutional relationship of the Church and the State. We may therefore welcome the action taken in 1892, when Convocation obtained "letters of business" from the Crown, in order to deal with

the scandal of criminous clerks, the Canons which were passed by Convocation being ratified by Parliament in the form of the "Clergy Discipline Act." So, too, at the present time similar "letters of business" have been obtained in order that the revision of the Prayer Book may be proceeded with. No Canons have yet, however, been passed, and therefore Parliament has not yet dealt with the matter.

If it be asked whether it is desirable to retain the establishment, in view of the fact that it consists of restraints far more than of privileges, the reply is that the bulk of churchmen accept these restraints because they confer upon the Church that privilege which is, in reality, the highest privilege of all, the privilege of being able to render service to the whole of the nation. Bishop Stubbs has defined establishment as "the national recognition of our Church as a Christian Church, as the representment of the religious life of the nation as historically worked out, and by means of property and discipline enabled to discharge, so far as outward discharge can ensure it, the effectual performance of the duties that membership of a Christian Church involves. It means the national recognition of a system by which every inch of land in England, and every living soul in the population, is assigned to a ministration of help, teaching, advice, and comfort of religion, a system in which every English man, woman, and



child has the right to the service of a clergyman, and to a home of spiritual life in the service of the Church." <sup>1</sup>

If this be a true account of the value of establishment, it is not difficult to answer the question, "What would be the loss if the Church were disestablished?" It would be the degradation of an ideal, the ideal of a Christian Church in a Christian land, for it would mean, in the words of Bishop Creighton, "the repudiation of a Christian basis of the State," <sup>2</sup> or, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has put it, "we should have lost, and lost in the most harmful way, something which compels the State in its corporate capacity to recognise the power and influence of religion; something which compels the Church to be in touch with thoughts and interests which are wider and deeper than it always sees." <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Visitation Charges*, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church and the Nation*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

## CHAPTER XV

### PROPERTY

It is clear that the so-called "voluntary system" of annual contribution is insufficient for any society which aims at being national in its operations, for while it may suffice during the time that the organisation is local, and confined to a few places, the moment an attempt is made to extend operations to every part of the country, it becomes evident that something more than uncertain annual contributions are necessary, in order that work may not need to be curtailed in districts which change their character. It is for this reason that Nonconformists are making more and more strenuous efforts to obtain additions to the permanent capitalised endowments which they already possess, the Baptists aiming at the raising of £250,000 to serve as a sustentation fund for their ministry; while Dr. Clifford has recently acknowledged the inadequacy of the voluntary system by asking why it was that so many of their churches in towns were being turned into cinematograph shows, and not always because the lease was run out, but because the ministry could

not be maintained in a difficult down-town church.

Before considering the property held by the Church it is important to observe that, strictly speaking, the Church as a whole has no endowments at all. In a monastic body the individual monk is under the vow of poverty, though the corporation to which he belongs may be rich, but in the Church it is the reverse. The central body, the Church, has nothing; but each bishopric, chapter, and incumbency is endowed—that is to say, the bishop, cathedral officers, and incumbent for the time being is or are entitled to the income from certain property so long as he or they hold the office to which the income is attached. The occupants of these offices are in legal phrase corporations, artificial legal personalities which never die, called, where they consist of one individual, as in the case of bishops or incumbents, corporations sole, where they consist of a number, like the cathedral chapters, corporations aggregate. In other words, the possessions of the Church are entirely local property, held and enjoyed to-day by the successors of the original corporations to which they were given, and employed on behalf of the successors of the people for whose benefit the gifts were made.

In the first place, there is the land held by various corporations, given either for the endowment of bishoprics, to leans and chapters, monas-

teries, or the parochial clergy (when it is called glebe), some of the grants going back to the earliest days of the Church of England. The deed endowing St. Paul's Cathedral with land at Tillingham, Essex, and dating from about the year 609, is in existence, and as the property still belongs to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, it is a striking illustration of the continuity of possession enjoyed by the Church: "Ethelbert the King, by the inspiration of God, for his soul's weal, hath granted to Bishop Mellitus the district which is called Tillingham for the benefit of his monastery, to wit the monastery of St. Paul the Apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles. And I, King Ethelbert, do absolutely assign to thee, Bishop Mellitus, the right of holding and possessing the same, that it may for ever continue for the profit of the monastery. But if any man shall attempt to gainsay this grant, may he be accursed and excommunicate from all Christian fellowship until he make amends." It is true that this particular grant was the gift of a king, but it must not therefore be imagined that this fact constitutes it a State grant, for, as Lord Chancellor Selborne has pointed out, "There is no principle on which gifts by kings, made not by public Acts of State, but as territorial landlords, can be distinguished for this purpose from gifts by private persons. They were made in times when kings could hold and grant lands, or other property, as freely as their sub-

jects. The lands so granted in this country from the Heptarchy downwards were never—most certainly they were not after the grants—the common property of the nation. What those kings granted, whether to ecclesiastical or to lay corporations, or to private individuals (in theory of law all private titles to land in the kingdom originated in some such grants), ceased absolutely to be theirs when so granted away. Unless legally forfeited, it could never afterwards be resumed. The titles, so created, were the same in point of law, to all intents and purposes, as if made by private persons; and a possession of centuries has followed upon them.”<sup>1</sup> As a fact, much, if not most, of the land granted for Church purposes was granted by ordinary landowners. Nor need we inquire into the motives underlying such donations, for Professor Freeman has rightly remarked that “if one king or other powerful man gave land to a bishopric or a monastery, another, or very often the same, gave land to his favourites or his mistresses. We need not ask what was the motive of the first grant in either case, provided the present owner can show a legal title. That legal title is good in both cases against any power except an Act of Parliament.”<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, there is the tithe, which forms the largest part of the property of the Church, the

<sup>1</sup> *Defence*, pp. 184–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Disestablishment and Disendowment*, pp. 17–18.



payment of which originated as a free-will offering, gradually becoming the normal rule, while the authority of the Church was added by Canons which laid down the payment as a duty. Gradually there was added State recognition, this dating, so far as England is concerned, from the Council of Chelsea in 787. As kings and nobles were present at this Council, it is probable that it had the nature of a Witenagemot. The Constitution then passed laid it down as a moral and religious duty that all should "take care to pay the tenth of all that they possess." It was, in fact, a State recognition of a custom which was already in existence and enjoined by the Church, and in no way altered the nature or character of the tithe, turning it from a voluntary contribution into a compulsory tax. This Council at Chelsea dealt not only with tithe, but also with the sacrament of Baptism; but no one would seriously argue that the religious obligation to receive baptism was thereby turned into a State regulation.

It is further to be observed that at this Council no destination for the tithe was pointed out. That was left entirely to the conscience of the donor. Gradually, however, the landowners in many parishes<sup>1</sup> appropriated the tithe to the maintenance of the parish priest. When that had been done the legal right to tithe became complete, and

<sup>1</sup> Many parishes, but not all, for only 76 per cent. of the land is subject to tithe.

the courts as they came into existence enforced that right, treating it as real property—that is, as a right to something issuing out of the land.

It is worth noticing that when the Welsh Disestablishment Bill of 1895 was in Committee, an amendment was moved by Sir John Gorst, the effect of which would have been to secure to the Church all private benefactions, at whatever date they might have been given. Mr. Asquith, however, refused to accept this amendment, because: "It was an arguable position to take up that, although tithes became a compulsory tax after a certain date, they were originally a voluntary obligation, and were given by private persons out of their own resources. If the amendment were adopted, it might be contended, and it would be open to a court of law to say, that practically the whole revenue of the present Established Church passed to the representative body of the disestablished Church. In other words, the Bill, instead of disendowing the Church, would re-endow it." When an eminent lawyer speaks of "an arguable position," and refuses to leave it to the courts of law to say whether tithe is, or is not, a private benefaction, one may be pretty certain what he feels the legal decision would be.

Mr. Asquith here wrongly speaks of tithe as a tax, for, as already stated, it is property. Indeed the owner pays rates upon it, and the late Sir William Harcourt, when speaking in the House

of Commons on April 13, 1894, said: "The hon. member speaks of tithes, repeating the usual fallacy that they are a tax upon land. But they are nothing of the kind. Everyone who has bought land has paid a less price for it in consequence of its being chargeable with tithe." Similarly attention was drawn in the *Times* of December 26, 1911, by Mr. Digby Thurnam to the fact that a full court of Common Pleas decided, in 1871, in the case of *Jeffrey v. Neale*, that where a lessee had covenanted to pay "all taxes and assessments," except "the level tax, property tax, and land tax," the words "taxes and assessments" did not include the tithe rent charge. In view of this decision by Lord Chief Justice Bovill, Justices Byles, Montague Smith, and Brett, it is impossible for any lawyer to describe the tithe, whether in clerical or in lay hands, as a tax.

It is true that in 1893 Mr. Justice Phillimore maintained that if a certain "bit of legal history," which he set out, was correct, then "there was no 'giving' of tithe except by some early Saxons during their lives. All subsequent tithe is a tax imposed by the State for the benefit, in the first instance, of the Church"; but in the 1895 edition of Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law* the passages on the origin of tithe which had appeared in the 1873 edition, and were consonant with the above view, were omitted, and their place taken by the following: "It is not proposed to discuss the origin of

the tithes in England. A very full treatment is given to the subject by Lord Selborne. It is enough to say that the payment of tithes was compelled by ecclesiastical censures, enforced by the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, at least from A.D. 1200, that statutory authority for their payment was given first by 27 Henry VIII, cap. 7, then by 2 and 3 Edward VI, cap. 13, &c." Here Mr. Justice Phillimore gives it as his opinion that statutory authority for the payment of tithe cannot be established with certainty earlier than the sixteenth century. He also refers to Lord Selborne as one of the chief authorities on the subject. Lord Chancellor Selborne's view was quite clear. He maintained that tithes "never entered into, and were never granted out of, the general public revenue, and never became part of it under any law, ecclesiastical or temporal, which recognised either the obligation to pay or the right to receive them. The tithe has been for ages real property by law. Its nature has been the same, whether in the hands of ecclesiastical or of lay tithe-owners. The sense of moral or ecclesiastical obligation which operated upon the minds of those whose endowments first gave it that nature did not then, and cannot now, make it State property."<sup>1</sup>

At the present time it is being argued that originally only two-thirds of the tithe belonged, of right, to the clergy, the other third belonging

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

to the poor. But while there is evidence to show that some such division of the tithe did prevail on the Continent, it did not exist as a custom in England. The Law of Ethelred, of 1014, which is sometimes adduced as evidence to the contrary, is valueless, being regarded by the best historical authorities as a forgery;<sup>1</sup> while the Act of 15 Richard II, cap. 6, of 1391, and the Constitution of Archbishop Stratford, of 1342, on which it is based, are quite irrelevant. They relate solely to monastic bodies, to which parish tithes had become appropriated, ordering that in such cases the monastery shall remember the duty of seeing that alms are given to the poor of such parishes. If this Statute has or ever had any legal effect, which is doubtful, it must bind the present owners of monastic property, and certainly not the parochial clergy, who at the dissolution of the monasteries got none of it. Of late the authority of Blackstone has been brought forward in support of the prevalence of such a custom, but in the opinion of Lord Chancellor Selborne, Blackstone "probably was not, in that passage of his Commentaries, referring to any supposed custom in England";<sup>2</sup> a view which is strongly supported by the fact that when Blackstone is dealing with the provision formerly made for the poor in this country, he is silent regarding the existence of any such custom, for he says that

<sup>1</sup> See Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, pp. 278-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Defence*, p. 149.



"till the statute of 27 Henry VIII, c. 25, I find no compulsory method chalked out for this purpose ; but the poor seem to have been left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them." <sup>1</sup> It may also be added that such weighty authorities as Bishop Stubbs, Professor Freeman, and Sir L. Dibdin are all agreed that the tripartite division did not prevail here, the last named saying that if it ever did exist "it was in the first days of the Church of England, while ecclesiastical institutions were in process of formation, when personal tithe was paid as well as tithe of increase, and before the custom of tithe-paying had grown general. It can hardly be denied that the custom which ripened into right, and finally became part of English common law, was the right of the clergy to receive the tithe for their own benefit without any deduction." <sup>2</sup>

It has already been pointed out that the whole of the tithe is no longer in the possession of the clergy. That part of it which belonged to the monasteries passed at their dissolution into lay hands, so that while the value of the tithe in the possession of ecclesiastical corporations is £3,092,142 per annum, £962,262 belongs to lay impropriators, and although disendowment would mean the alienation of the clerical tithe to secular (or as

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Brewer, *The Church of England* (edition by Dibdin), pp. 52 and 156-57.

it is now phrased "national") purposes, that belonging to lay impropiators would be untouched. It is also well to note that there is no proposal to abolish tithe, for it would still be payable after the disendowment of the Church, but handed over by Commissioners to the County Councils, who would spend it on what Mr. McKenna calls "schemes for the benefit of the whole people."

This last quotation leads to another consideration. It is urged that the Church has no moral right to the endowments because they were given for the good of the whole population, but are now being used for the benefit of a part only of the people. It is, of course, perfectly true that when the bulk of them were given Nonconformity had not arisen, but in the first place the endowments are still being used for the benefit of everyone, for the Church is national in its operations, and every parishioner has a right to a seat in his parish church and to the ministrations of the incumbent. Secondly, even if such an argument might be employed in favour of concurrent endowment, it certainly cannot be used to justify taking away property from the Church and applying it to secular purposes. Such a proceeding is not only robbery but sacrilege. As much of the Church's property dates from pre-Reformation days, a word must be added regarding the right of the Church to retain this

property at the present time. There can be no question of the legal right. The ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, to which the endowments were originally given still exist; since the Reformation they have been in enjoyment of these endowments for three hundred and fifty years, with which may be compared the provision of the "Dissenters' Chapels Act" of 1844, that twenty-five years' tenure shall give a legal title to the property of Dissenters; and finally Parliament in 1661 deliberately confirmed to the Church with its present formularies the possession of all its ancient endowments. The moral right of the Church to this property is equally clear. The endowments were given absolutely and unconditionally "to God and Holy Church"; and the Church to-day can justly claim to be the same Church, historically and in all essential doctrines, as that to which they were given. The only possible claimant who could assert a better right would be the Roman Catholic Church, and it is worth noting that in 1826 the Roman Catholic bishops in England issued a declaration dealing with their suggested right to the property of the Established Church, in which they said "we disclaim any right, title, or pretension with regard to the same."

One part only of the property of the Church has been centralised. In 1836 the Ecclesiastical Commission was formed, with the approval of the

archbishops and bishops, to pay the bishops and others fixed salaries, and to manage the possessions of the bishops and certain of the cathedral chapters. An immense saving has been effected, from which, as also from the increase in the value of properties, a central fund has been created for the endowment of new parishes and augmentation of the income of poor benefices. In the last few years the Commissioners have been enabled to take a much-needed step towards the raising to £200 a year of all livings other than those with very small populations.

The total annual sum paid to the diocesan bishops is £176,550, making an average of £4771 to each bishop. Since this includes the necessarily large salaries paid to the Archbishops, viz. £15,000 to the Archbishop of Canterbury and £10,000 to the Archbishop of York, and £10,000 a year to the Bishop of London, it follows that most of the bishops do not receive anything like the average salary. Even so, it may well seem that the official episcopal incomes are unduly large. But it must be remembered that out of these incomes the bishops have to pay very large sums for the upkeep of their official houses, and for various official entertainments, such as the reception of candidates for ordination, &c. These expenses are really incurred on behalf of the Church as a whole, though they technically come out of the pockets of the bishops. Their real income

would therefore be often not much more than half of what it appears to be, and out of this they have to pay very heavy travelling expenses and meet very large charitable demands.

The total income from ancient endowments of the Church of England amounted in 1891 to £5,469,171, of which £3,941,057 came from ecclesiastical benefices. The total number of the parishes is 14,328, giving an average income of £275 per annum, but in addition to the incumbents there are about 9000 unbeneficed clergy, who have to be paid, and there are besides a large number of modern incumbencies and chaplaincies which have no ancient endowment to rely upon.

These are only the living agents of the Church in this country. There are besides all the Churches in the Dominions, the missions all over the world, the Church of England schools and colleges here and elsewhere, and a great number of charitable and philanthropic institutions, which are maintained in connection with the Church. To meet all these demands the ancient and modern endowments of the Church are quite insufficient, and no less a sum than £8,000,000 a year is raised for Church purposes in this country alone. Nor is this sufficient, and a Committee on Church Finance, appointed by the Archbishops, has just issued a report proposing a new scheme to put Church finance on a more business-like footing.

As it is still sometimes suggested that a con-



siderable part of the income of the Church is derived from gifts made by the State, attention must be drawn to the actual grants which have been received. It has already been shown that during the Middle Ages the clergy paid tenths and first-fruits to the Papacy, and that this came to an end in 1534, the moneys, for the future, going to the king, a condition of affairs which lasted till 1703, when Queen Anne renounced them, ordering that, for the future, while the clergy should continue to pay, the money should be used for Church purposes, Queen Anne's Bounty thus coming into existence. It has been estimated that from 1534 to 1703 over £2,700,000 of Church money thus went into royal hands. In 1809 the State commenced to make a series of annual contributions to Queen Anne's Bounty, the total received being £1,100,000; while between 1818 and 1824 the State also gave £1,500,000 towards the cost of building new churches in London and other populous centres, though the whole of this was not received by the Church of England, for some of it went to the Established Church of Scotland. To this extent only can it be said that the Church has been State endowed, and over against this must be placed the *Regium Donum*, which originated in 1722, and continued in England until 1852, and in Ireland until the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869. It consisted

of grants to necessitous ministers and their families, and amounted in England to £216,660, and in Ireland to £1,903,854, while compensation to the extent of £768,929 was granted out of the funds of the disestablished Church to the Irish Presbyterian Church, an Act being passed to allow this Church to commute the annuities into capital, by means of which it has been provided by the State with a permanent endowment of some £30,000 a year. As controversial capital is at times made out of these State grants to the Church, it is necessary that the existence of similar grants to other religious bodies should be mentioned. The Memorandum of Archdeacon Evans and Lord Hugh Cecil, attached to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales, notes that in that Principality "a capital augmentation of £176,700, yielding at present a net income of £5809 (gross £6189), is derived from Parliamentary grants made to Queen Anne's Bounty between 1809 and 1820, when similar grants were also made out of public moneys 'under the authority of the same Acts of Parliament of £152,000 for Protestant Dissenting ministers in England and Ireland, £46,810 for the support of seceding ministers from the Synod of Ulster in Ireland, £30,000 for the maintenance of poor clergy in Scotland, and £989,000 for the relief of suffering clergy and laity of France.'"

## APPENDIX I

### CONTINUITY

"A CHURCH which was established was not thereby made a part of the State. The phrase meant that the State had accepted the Church as the religious body truly teaching the Christian faith, and gave a certain legal position to its decrees. The accepted legal doctrine, as to which there was no controversy, was that the Church of England was a continuous body from its establishment in Saxon times."—MR. JUSTICE PHILLIMORE, Divisional Court, 1907, West Riding Council.

"It is sometimes stated that the Statutes passed by Henry VIII to exclude the exercise of papal exactions and jurisdiction made such great and fundamental changes that they should be regarded as establishing the Church for the first time as it now exists, but this view is directly contradicted by the Statutes themselves, which not only refer to the Church of England as an existing Church, and to the prelates and clergy of the realm as representing the said Church in their synods and convocations independent of the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, but also expressly disclaim any intention to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very Articles of the Catholic Faith. . . . That

portion of the Catholic Church which developed into the Church of England referred to in Magna Charta may be said to have had a continuous existence from its origin as a separate organism, and to be one with the Church of England as it now exists."—LORD HALSBURY, *The Laws of England*, vol. xi. pp. 359–360.

"I can find no trace of that opinion which is now common in the mouths of unthinking persons, that the Roman Catholic Church was abolished in England at the period of the Reformation, and that a Protestant Church was put in its place; nor does there appear to have been so much as a doubt in the minds of any one of them (the Reformers) whether the Church, legally established in England after the Reformation, was the same institution with the Church legally established in England before the Reformation."—GLADSTONE, *Church and State*, II. vii. p. 127.

"I hold very strongly that it is an historical fallacy to represent the Church of England as ever having been a mere offshoot and dependency of the Church of Rome. I think that the whole of our mediæval history shows first of all that our Kings, then our Parliaments, as soon as they acquired a dominant position, kept a tight grip of the government of the Church, refused to allow the intrusion of any foreign Power, or any outside ecclesiastical authority in the regulation of our National Church. . . . I am not one of those who think, as used to be currently assumed, that the legislation of Henry VIII transferred the privileges and endowments of a National Establishment from the Church of Rome to the Church of England.

I believe that view rests upon imperfect historical information.”—MR. ASQUITH, Speech in the House of Commons, March 21, 1895.

Mr. Asquith, speaking on the Second Reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill of 1912, referred to the above-quoted passage, and stated: “I adhere to every word of it” (May 15, 1912).

“It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of Henry VIII or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church or of establishing anything at all. In their own eyes they were not establishing, but reforming; they were not pulling down or setting up, but putting to rights.”—FREEMAN, *Disestablishment and Disendowment*, pp. 35–36.

“We recognise that you have special cause for commemorating the work of Augustine in the conversion of the King and Kingdom of Kent, inasmuch as to this work must be attributed the organisation of the Church, which ultimately comprehended the entire realm of England. The distinguished prelate who will preside over your deliberations is the successor in an unbroken line of the first Archbishop of Canterbury; and notwithstanding many dynastic and social changes, the Anglican Church has continuously ministered the word and sacraments of Christ to the English nation and to English-speaking people throughout the world.”—ADDRESS from



the Scottish Presbyterian General Assembly to the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1897.

“At a moment when in France one is so occupied in studying the books placed in the hands of school-children, and when the historical and religious errors which these books contain are so bitterly criticised, could one not take advantage of this movement of interest in historical text-books to dispel the gross error which every French child learns in both Church and secular schools, viz. ‘that the English Church is a Protestant sect founded by the Tudors in the sixteenth century’? Every publication which helps . . . to destroy this absurd legend renders a true service to the cause of reunion . . . but this union will only be possible when the Church of England is thoroughly understood, when her continuity and catholicity are facts accepted by the Churches of Rome and of the East.”—*Le Bulletin de la Semaine*, June 8, 1910.

“Our ideas of what the Reformation did for the Church of England will inevitably be defective unless we also have a clear idea of what it did *not* do. *It made no break in the life of the Church of England.* It destroyed no Church, and it created no Church. It expelled no Church, and it introduced no Church. The Church of England which existed from the time of Augustine to the reign of Elizabeth is the same Church as that which has existed from the reign of Elizabeth to the present day. To suppose that at the Reformation the Church of Rome was turned out, and that its property and privileges were taken from it by the State and given to a revived or entirely new Church of England, is to be guilty of an

historical blunder of the first magnitude. *Such an event never took place at all*; and nothing at all like it ever took place. Few historical questions of equal importance admit of more complete demonstration.

“We assert, therefore, with perfect conviction, that the Church of England since the Reformation is simply the old Church of England with its face washed and dried (we may add) with a very rough towel. At the Reformation it was neither established nor re-established, nor reconstructed, but reformed. It was established when its early members made permanent provision for its maintenance, and when the law gave security to that provision. No other Church has ever displaced her; and if her children do their duty, no other Church ever will.”

—DR. PLUMMER, *English Church History*, 1509–75, pp. 173 and 176.

“As regards the continuity of the Church of England, I would observe that it is a simple question of fact or no fact. If the Church of England is not the same Church now that she was before the Reformation, at what precise date did the loss of identity take place? There is an exact hour or half-hour at which St. Michael's Mount is cut off from the land in Cornwall at every tide, and there is no difficulty in telling the time when it becomes or ceases to be an island. So also, if there was any breach of the continuity in the Church of England, there must have been a precise year in which it took place. What was that year? Is it in the power of tyranny to create a new Church or take the whole life out of an old one? I do not think so, for my part. If the country still contained a community of Christians, that is to say, of

real believers in the great gospel of salvation—men who still accepted the old creeds, and had no doubt Christ died to save them—then the Church of England still remained the same Church as before. The new order under which it was placed did not affect its identity. A good deal even of the old system was preserved—in fact, all that was really essential to it; and as regards the doctrine, nothing was taken away except some doubtful scholastic propositions.”—DR. J. GAIRDNER in the *Church Times*, January 12, 1906.

“The real identity of a Church consists in her preservation of the Catholic Faith revealed by God, and taught in all ages by the universal Church; and in the retention of those rites and that government of the Church which are of divine institution, or were instituted in all churches by the Apostles. While these essentials are preserved, the identity of the Church continues, and it is not affected by the introduction or removal of certain jurisdictions of human origin, by varieties in the external forms of worship, or by the prevalence of abuses or corruptions in doctrine or practice amongst the people.”—PALMER, *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 406–407.

“Roman controversialists sometimes argue that the fact that the Church of the English was founded by the Mission, headed by St. Augustine, which was sent from Rome, is a plain proof that it of necessity must be subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore that when it rejected the Papal Supremacy it ceased to be part of the Catholic Church. Admitting to the full that St. Gregory was the real founder of the Church of the English, yet

that fact in no way justifies the conclusion sought to be drawn from it. That conclusion, in the first place, assumes that the recognition of the Papal Monarchy is an essential condition to being in 'the one Flock,' the Catholic Church, an assumption which has been proved by the evidence to be entirely without any basis in fact. Consequently this 'argument' is of no value whatever. Secondly, the fact of such foundation, granted to the very fullest extent, obviously could not on Catholic principles impose on the English Church the obligation to accept or to continue to acknowledge for ever, if once accepted, claims which are contrary to the Divine Constitution of the Church. The Catholic verity as to that Constitution, 'the venerable and constant belief of every age' on the subject, has been shown to be essentially different from the Papalist doctrine thereon, which indeed perverts the Divine Constitution of the Church by its unhistorical accretions and assumptions; the Roman 'argument' is thus a palpable absurdity bearing on its face its own refutation."—DENNY, *Papalism*, pp. 695–696.

## APPENDIX II

### CHURCH AND CROWN

#### Kings of England.

#### Archbishops of Canterbury.

			A.D.
		Augustine . . .	601
		Laurentius . . .	604
		Mellitus . . .	619
		Justus . . .	624
		Honorius . . .	627
		Deusdedit . . .	655
		Theodore . . .	668
		Berchtwald . . .	693
		Tatwine . . .	731
		Nothelm . . .	735
		Cuthberht . . .	741
		Bregowine . . .	759
		Jaenberht . . .	766
		Æthelheard . . .	793
Egbert . . .	A.D.	Wulfred . . .	805
Ethelwulf . . .	827	Feologild . . .	832
Ethelbald . . .	839	Ceolnoth . . .	833
	858		



Kings of England.			Archbishops of Canterbury.		
		A.D.			A.D.
Ethelbert	.	858			
Ethelred	.	866	Æthelred	.	870
Alfred	.	871	Plegmund	.	890
Edward ( <i>Elder</i> )	.	901	Athelm	.	914
Athelstan	.	925	Wulfhelm	.	923
Edmund	.	940	Odo	.	942
Edred	.	946			
Edwy	.	955			
Edgar	.	958	Brithelm	.	959
			Dunstan	.	960
Edward ( <i>Martyr</i> )	.	975	Æthelgar	.	988
Ethelred	.	979	Sigeric	.	990
			Ælfric	.	995
Edmund	.	1016	Alphege	.	1005
Canute	.	1017	Yfing	.	1013
Harold I.	.	1035	Æthelnoth	.	1020
Hardicanute	.	1040	Eadsige	.	1038
Edward ( <i>Confessor</i> )	.	1042	Robert	.	1051
Harold II.	.	1066	Stigand	.	1052
William I.	.	1066	Lanfranc	.	1070
William II.	.	1087	Anselm	.	1093
Henry I.	.	1100	R. d'Escures	.	1114
			W. de Corbeil	.	1123
Stephen	.	1135	Theobald	.	1139
Henry II.	.	1154	T. Becket	.	1162
			Richard	.	1174
Richard I.	.	1189	Baldwin	.	1185
John	.	1199	H. Walter	.	1193
			S. Langton	.	1207

Kings of England.			Archbishops of Canterbury.		
		A.D.			A.D.
Henry III	.	1216	R. Grant	.	1229
			E. Rich	.	1234
			Boniface	.	1245
Edward I	.	1272	R. Kilwardby	.	1273
			J. Peckham	.	1279
			R. Winchelsey	.	1294
Edward II	.	1307	W. Reynolds	.	1313
			S. Meopham	.	1328
Edward III	.	1327	J. Stratford	.	1333
			T. Bradwardine	.	1349
			S. Islip	.	1349
			S. Langham	.	1366
			W. Wittlesey	.	1368
			S. Sudbury	.	1375
Richard II	.	1377	W. Courtenay	.	1381
			T. Arundel	.	1397
			R. Walden	.	1398
Henry IV	.	1399	T. Arundel ( <i>restored</i> )	.	1399
Henry V	.	1413	H. Chicheley	.	1414
Henry VI	.	1422			
			J. Stafford	.	1443
			J. Kempe	.	1452
			T. Bouchier	.	1454
Edward IV	.	1461			
Edward V	.	1483			
Richard III	.	1483			
Henry VII	.	1485	J. Morton	.	1486

Kings of England.		Archbishops of Canterbury.	
	A.D.		A.D.
		H. Dene . . .	1501
		W. Warham . . .	1503
Henry VIII . . .	1509		
		T. Cranmer . . .	1533
Edward VI . . .	1547		
Mary . . .	1553	R. Pole . . .	1556
Elizabeth . . .	1558	M. Parker . . .	1559
		E. Grindal . . .	1576
		J. Whitgift . . .	1583
James I . . .	1603	R. Bancroft . . .	1604
		G. Abbot . . .	1611
Charles I . . .	1625		
		W. Laud . . .	1633
(Interregnum) . . .	...	(See vacant 16 years.)	
Charles II . . .	1660	W. Juxon . . .	1660
		G. Sheldon . . .	1663
		W. Sancroft . . .	1678
James II . . .	1685		
William III . . .	1689	J. Tillotson . . .	1691
Anne . . .	1702	T. Tenison . . .	1695
George I . . .	1714	W. Wake . . .	1716
George II . . .	1727	J. Potter . . .	1737

Kings of England.			Archbishops of Canterbury.		
		A.D.			A.D.
George III	.	. 1760	T. Herring	.	. 1747
			M. Hutton	.	. 1757
			T. Secker	.	. 1758
			F. Cornwallis	.	. 1768
			J. Moore	.	. 1783
			C. M. Sutton	.	. 1805
George IV	.	. 1820	W. Howley	.	. 1828
William IV	.	. 1830			
Victoria	.	. 1837	J. B. Sumner	.	. 1848
			C. T. Longley	.	. 1862
			A. C. Tait	.	. 1868
			E. W. Benson	.	. 1883
			F. Temple	.	. 1896
Edward VII	.	. 1901	R. T. Davidson	.	. 1903
George V	.	. 1910			

## APPENDIX III

### GLOSSARY OF CHURCH OFFICERS

**Archbishop.**—The principal officer in the Province, the Archbishop of Canterbury being Primate of all England, and the Archbishop of York Primate of England.

**Archdeacon.**—The principal officer in the archdeaconry, each diocese consisting of one or more of these divisions. His duty is to act as the “bishop’s eye,” to visit the clergy of his archdeaconry, and to swear in churchwardens annually. He has a seat *ex officio* in the Lower House of Convocation.

**Bishop.**—The name of the highest of the three Orders of the ministry, the bishop alone having the power of ordaining and confirming.

**Bishop (Diocesan).**—The principal officer of the diocese.

**Bishop (Suffragan).**—A bishop appointed to assist a diocesan bishop, having a territorial title, but not territorial jurisdiction.

**Bishop (Assistant).**—A bishop without a territorial title, who assists a diocesan bishop, and is often a bishop who has resigned a see.

**Canon.**—A dignitary of a cathedral or collegiate church.

**Canon (Honorary).**—A dignitary of a cathedral or collegiate church, bearing the title of canon, but receiving no emoluments from his office.



**Canon (Minor).**—A clergyman attached to a cathedral and charged with the performance of the services.

**Chaplain.**—A clergyman appointed to officiate in one of the chapels royal, or in a college or hospital, in the chapel of a nobleman, or in the army or navy, &c.

**Chapter.**—The dean and canons of a cathedral.

**Churchwardens.**—Lay officials of the parish, generally two in number, as a rule chosen, one by the incumbent and the other by the parishioners assembled in vestry.

**Curate.**—As used in the Prayer Book the word means the rector or vicar having the “cure” of souls, though the term is now generally used to denote his assistants.

**Deacon.**—One ordained to the lowest of the three Orders of the ministry, allowed to assist at the Holy Communion, to baptize, and to preach if licensed, but not to celebrate. He is incapable of holding a benefice.

**Dean.**—The chief official of a cathedral, and head of the cathedral chapter, with a seat *ex officio* in the Lower House of Convocation.

**Dean and Chapter.**—A corporation aggregate, consisting of the dean, and in most cases four canons.

**Diocesan.**—The bishop of a diocese.

**Incumbent.**—The holder of a benefice, being either a rector, vicar, or perpetual curate.

**Metropolitan.**—The Archbishop having jurisdiction over the bishops of the diocese which make up the Province. Both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York are Metropolitans.

**Minister.**—The clergyman officiating at a service, whether bishop, priest, or deacon.

**Ordinary.**—A person having jurisdiction in a place or matter, usually the bishop; but there are certain places and persons exempt from his authority, *e.g.* at Westminster Abbey the Dean is the Ordinary, not the Bishop of London.

**Parson.**—From *persona*, rightly the rector or vicar of a parish, but commonly used as a name for any clergyman.

**Perpetual Curate.**—As a rule, when the incumbent of a parish is supported, not by the rectorial or the vicarial tithes, but by an annual stipend he bears this name, though he is usually called a vicar, being instituted to his benefice in the same way as a rector or vicar.

**Prebendary.**—In the cathedrals of the ancient foundation, *i.e.* those which were not monastic before the Reformation, there are prebendaries as well as residentiary canons. They are so called because they were formerly supported by a prebend or estate belonging to the cathedral church. The manors have been suppressed, but the title remains, the prebendary corresponding to the honorary canon in a cathedral of the new foundation.

**Priest.**—One in the second of the three Orders of the ministry, capable of celebrating, marrying, &c.

**Primate.**—A title for the Metropolitan. In Scotland one of the bishops is selected to act as “Primus,” while in Ireland the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin are the two Primates.

**Proctor.**—The name for the representative in convocation of each dean and chapter, and of the beneficed clergy of each diocese.

**Reader.**—A layman, either voluntary or paid, licensed by the bishop to help the clergy, his license being either parochial or diocesan.

**Rector.**—The incumbent of a parish where the tithes are not appropriated to a layman, or to a corporation either ecclesiastical or lay.

**Rural Dean.**—Each archdeaconry is divided into a number of rural deaneries over each of which is a clergyman called the rural dean, generally appointed by the bishop but in some dioceses by the clergy, and charged with the duty of calling the clergy and representative laity into chapters and conferences for the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs.

**Sidesman.**—A corruption of “synodsmen.” At the present time persons selected by the churchwardens to assist in the collection of the alms in church, and to act for them in their absence.

**Surrogate.**—One appointed as deputy to another official. The bishop or his chancellor appoints clergymen in various parts of the diocese as surrogates for the granting of marriage licenses.

**Vicar.**—From *vicarius*, one holding the place of another. The title of the incumbent of a parish where the rectorial tithe has been appropriated or impropriated. The title is also used for the incumbent of modern parishes cut out of ancient ones.

## APPENDIX IV

### SOME LEADING DATES

- 200. Tertullian speaks of parts of Britain unsubdued by the Romans but subject to Christ.
- 304. St. Alban martyred at Verulam. (*The first known martyr of the British Church.*)
- 314. Three British Bishops present at the Council of Arles.
- 429. Mission of St. Germanus (*the British Church having fallen into heresy*).
- 449. The Invasion of the Saxons began.
- 563. St. Columba, the apostle of Scotland, settled at Iona.
- 597. Mission of St. Augustine to Kent.
- 627. King Edwin baptized at York by Paulinus.
- 631. Conversion of East Anglia by Felix of Burgundy.
- 634. Birinus began mission work in Wessex.
- 635. St. Aidan (from Iona) settled at Lindisfarne.
- 654. Cedd began work among the East Saxons.
- 656. The Evangelisation of Mercia began.
- 664. The Conference of Whitby (*to settle whether Roman or Celtic customs should be observed by the Church*).
- 668. Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury (*"the first Archbishop whom the whole English Church consented to obey"*).
- 673. The Council of Hertford. (*The first Council of the English Church.*)

735. Death of the Venerable Bede (*the father of English history*).
735. Egbert the first Archbishop of York.
787. The Archbishopric of Lichfield founded. (*Ended in 803.*)
901. Death of Alfred the Great.
960. Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury.
1011. Martyrdom of Archbishop Alphege by the Danes.
1042. Edward the Confessor (*founder of Westminster Abbey*).
1066. The Norman Conquest.
1070. Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury.
1107. Settlement of the Investiture controversy.
1128. First settlement of the Cistercian monks in England.
1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon.
1170. Murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket.
1215. Magna Charta signed by King John (*guaranteeing that the Church of England shall be free and have her rights entire and liberties inviolate*).
- 1220-1224. Arrival of the Friars in England.
1253. Death of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (*champion of the Church of England against Roman exactions*).
1279. First Statute of Mortmain (*to restrain the transfer of land to ecclesiastical and other bodies by bequests*).
1320. Wycliffe born.
1348. The Black Death.
1351. Statute of Provisors (*to restrain the Pope appointing aliens to English livings*).
1353. Statute of Praemunire (*to restrain appeals being sent to Rome*).



1387. Foundation of Winchester College by William of Wykeham.
1414. Suppression of the Alien Priories, *i.e.* *Monasteries depending on foreign religious houses.*
1476. Caxton's printing press set up.
1504. Warham Archbishop of Canterbury.
1516. Erasmus's Greek New Testament issued.
1521. Henry VIII wrote against Luther, and was granted the title of "Defender of the Faith" by the Pope.
1526. Tyndale's New Testament issued in English.
1529. The Reformation Parliament.
1530. Death of Cardinal Wolsey.
1532. The Submission of the Clergy.
1533. Statute forbidding Appeals to Rome passed.
1533. Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury.
1536. The Lesser Monasteries suppressed.
1536. The Pilgrimage of Grace.
1538. Henry VIII excommunicated by a Bull of Paul III.
1539. The Greater Monasteries suppressed.
1539. The Six Articles Act ("*the complete triumph of the unreformed views*").
1541. Six new bishoprics founded (*Bristol, Oxford, Chester, Peterborough, Westminster and Gloucester*).
1544. The Litany issued in English.
1548. The "Order of the Communion" published.
1549. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI issued.
1552. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI issued.
1556. Cranmer burnt at Oxford (March 21).
1556. Reginald Pole consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (March 22).

- 1559. Consecration of Archbishop Parker.
- 1566. The "Advertisements" issued by Parker.
- 1570. The Bull "Regnans in Excelsis," deposing Queen Elizabeth and declaring her excommunicate.
- 1571. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.
- 1572. Robert Browne founded Congregationalism.
- 1588. The Spanish Armada defeated.
- 1604. The Hampton Court Conference between the Church and the Puritan divines.
- 1605. The Gunpowder Plot.
- 1611. The Authorised Version of the Bible issued.
- 1637. The Scots Prayer Book issued.
- 1643. The Westminster Assembly of Divines.
- 1645. Archbishop Laud executed.
- 1645. Use of the Prayer Book forbidden.
- 1649. Execution of Charles I.
- 1653. Oliver Cromwell became Protector.
- 1658. An Independent Establishment of religion attempted.
- 1660. Restoration of Church and King.
- 1661. The Savoy Conference. (*The Prayer Book received its final form.*)
- 1664. The Conventicle Act (*to prevent meetings for worship at which more than five persons were present beside those of the household*).
- 1665. The Five Mile Act. (*Ejected ministers forbidden to come within five miles of a parish where they had preached.*)
- 1673. The Test Act. (*All holders of civil or military office required to receive Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England.*)
- 1687. The Declaration of Indulgence issued by James II.

1688. Trial and acquittal of the Seven Bishops—The Protestant Revolution.
1689. The Toleration Act (*granting toleration to Dissenters*).
1698. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded.
1701. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel founded.
1704. Queen Anne's Bounty established. (*Restoring tenths and first fruits to the Church.*)
1717. Convocation suppressed.
1722. The "Regium Donum" granted to Dissenters (*ended in 1852 in England and 1869 in Ireland*).
1729. Beginnings of Methodism.
1736. Butler's *Analogy of Religion* published.
1784. Seabury consecrated Bishop of Connecticut. (*First bishop for America.*)
1787. Dr. Inglis consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia. (*First English colonial bishop.*)
1791. Death of John Wesley.
1799. The Church Missionary Society founded.
1807. Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1811. The National Society founded (*for the education of the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England*).
1814. Consecration of Dr. Middleton to the see of Calcutta. (*The first English bishop in India.*)
1828. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Roman Catholic Emancipation Act passed.
1833. The Oxford Movement began.
1836. The Ecclesiastical Commission incorporated (*to manage the revenues of the bishops, deans, and cathedral chapters*).
1836. Formation of the diocese of Ripon. (*The first of the new modern English dioceses.*)

- 1836. The Tithe Commutation Act passed.
- 1850. Papal Bull created Roman Catholic episcopate in England.
- 1851. Ecclesiastical Titles Act (repealed 1871).
- 1852. Convocation revived (*after 135 years' suppression*).
- 1858. Jewish Disabilities removed.
- 1859. Elementary Education Commission appointed.
- 1861. The first Church Congress held at Cambridge.
- 1864. First Diocesan Conference held at Ely.
- 1867. First Lambeth Conference met (seventy-six bishops present).
- 1868. Compulsory Church Rates abolished.
- 1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
- 1870. Dr. Mackenzie consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham. (*The first suffragan bishop of modern times.*)
- 1870. Elementary Education Act. (*Mr. Forster's Act creating Board Schools.*)
- 1871. University Tests Abolition Act.
- 1874. Public Worship Regulation Act passed.
- 1876. Truro Diocese formed.
- 1878. Second Lambeth Conference met (100 bishops present).
- 1880. Burial Law Amendment Act.
- 1881. Revised Version of the New Testament issued.
- 1885. Revised Version of the Old Testament issued.
- 1886. House of Laymen met for the first time.
- 1888. Third Lambeth Conference met (145 bishops present).
- 1889. Attack on the Church in Wales defeated in the House of Commons (284 to 231 votes).
- 1891. Tithe Rent Charge Recovery Act passed.

- 1891. Free Education Act.
- 1892. The Clergy Discipline Act.
- 1892. The Bishop of Lincoln's case concluded.
- 1893. Introduction of the Welsh Suspensory Bill.
- 1894. First Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.
- 1895. Second Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.
- 1896. Queen Victoria Clergy Fund established.
- 1897. Revival of the separate diocese of Bristol.
- 1897. Fourth Lambeth Conference met (194 bishops present).
- 1898. The Benefices Act.
- 1901. Death of Queen Victoria.
- 1902. Mr. Balfour's Education Act.
- 1903. The Representative Church Council met for the first time.
- 1904. House of Lords' decision in the U.F. Church of Scotland case.
- 1904. Dioceses of Birmingham and Southwark formed.
- 1906. Mr. Birrell's Education Bill.
- 1906. Royal Commission on the Church and other religious bodies in Wales appointed.
- 1907. Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Act.
- 1908. First Pan-Anglican Congress.
- 1908. Fifth Lambeth Conference met (247 bishops present).
- 1909. Third Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.
- 1910. Report of Welsh Church Commission issued.
- 1912. Fourth Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.



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